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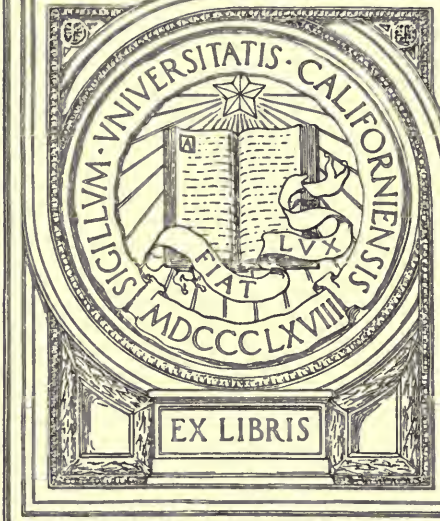

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CRITIC NOTICES OF THIS WORK.

FROM THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

"The able author of these volumes could scarcely have selected a more important period than the present for favouring the public with his labours. He has acquitted himself well throughout his somewhat arduous labours. There is a manliness of thought and independence of manner about them, which are exceedingly attractive. His own reflections are very little obtruded upon the reader."

FROM TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.

"It sounds like the tolling of funeral bells, as the annunciation is made of one death after another, among those who supported our canopy of empire through the last most memorable generation. The eldest of the Wellesleys is gone — he is gathered to his fathers; and here we have his life circumstantially written. Mr. Pearce is capable of writing vigorously and sagaciously."

FROM BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

"We have no idea of disregarding the labour which such a work must have demanded, or of regretting that the author has given to the country the most exact and intelligent Biography which he had the means of giving."

FROM THE DUBLIN UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE.

"The distinguished individual, whose Life and Correspondence lie before us, was one of the galaxy of great men by whom the reign of George III. was illustrated and adorned. England was called upon to confront perils, both political and social, such as she never before encountered, and by which the whole framework of her polity seemed about to be disorganized. And not the least among the remarkable men who were raised up to be her stay and protection against the revolutionary madness which was desolating Europe, was Richard Colley Wellesley, whose abilities will bear a comparison with those of the most gifted and brilliant of his contemporaries."

FROM THE JOHN BULL.

"This work presents a complete history of the public life of the Marquess Wellesley, and an outline of the great public events in which he bore a more or less distinguished part, prefaced by a brief, but interesting sketch of the origin and antiquity of the Wellesley family.

"With respect to the author's opinions, although we do not always concur with him in what he has advanced upon the subject of the first French revolution, and the consequent war between this country and France, upon the Catholic Relief Bill, and upon certain points of our policy in the East Indies and the Peninsula, he is so little disposed to dogmatism, that we cannot help treating them with respect. But the main value of Mr. Pearce's book consists in his judicious and lucid manner of arranging the narrative portion of it, interspersed with and illustrated by documentary matter, by means of which we follow, not only the career of the Marquess Wellesley himself, but the course of all those great political events in Europe and Asia, which have now become matter of history. The chief defect of the work is, the almost total absence of personal details relative to the private character of the Marquess Wellesley. But it is a valuable addition to this branch of our literature. It contains numerous documents of great historical interest, and presents a well written and connected narrative of the political conduct and opinions of a statesman who, for nearly half a century, occupied an exalted place amongst the great men of his time. We may add, that Mr. Pearce, though an avowed admirer of the Marquess Wellesley, is an impartial judge of his actions; witness, among other things that might be adduced, his condemnation of the Marquess's policy respecting the press in India."

FROM THE LEAGUE.

"In these instructive and amusing volumes Mr. Pearce has given a very able summary of the life of a statesman, whose reputation and rewards have been very inadequate for the services he rendered his country. Referring our readers to the work itself for the details of Lord Wellesley's laborious career, we shall merely regard him as an enlightened friend of Education and Free Trade, at a time when neither of these great principles met favour from men in power."

FROM THE LITERARY GAZETTE.

"Mr. Pearce has, it is at once evident and unquestionable, done himself honour by his diligent research—he has had access to the best information—he has acquitted himself of his task with much ability, and in a scholarlike style. This is one of the genuine historical publications of the age."

FROM THE LITERARY GAZETTE. (*Second Notice.*)

"In our last *Gazette* we hastily introduced this important publication to our readers, and have now, therefore, no occasion to preface our more particular reference to it with farther remarks. It presents the life of a great statesman, long engaged in the most momentous national affairs, and a perfect gentleman, to whom the poet's description of Hamlet might have been as justly applied, as to any individual of the age in which he flourished."

FROM THE ATLAS.

"No industry of research appears to have been spared; documents and pieces of information new to us have often been gleaned, and, when the occasion called for an opinion, it is judiciously, freely, and manfully delivered."

FROM THE COURT JOURNAL.

"Mr. Pearce has written the present work in a laudable spirit of patriotism. The letters of Lord Wellesley, selected from his unpublished correspondence, are of high interest and proportionate value. The biography with which they are interwoven is careful, minute, and satisfactorily voluminous. As a reference for future historians, this work must prove of infinite importance."

FROM THE CRITIC.

"Mr. Pearce has been fortunate in having for his subject the life of so distinguished a ruler and statesman as Lord Wellesley; who lived and acted in such eventful times, whose public services were so varied and important, whose character influenced the welfare of millions, and affords such prominent features for delineation of the biographer. With the facilities afforded him by accession to state and family papers, Mr. Pearce has produced a work of undeniably sterling merit—one distinguished by a spirit of candour and fairness, liberality, temperance, and charitable feeling, and especially by the soundness of its opinions and the breadth and sagacity of its views. His industry in the collection and judgment in the adoption of matter demand honourable notice, for they are conspicuous on every page; his researches, too, have been rewarded with much that elucidates what was obscure in recent state affairs, and will be of service to future historians. Added to this, his narrative is succinct, clear, and well-connected; his style always agreeable—sometimes, perhaps, a trifle too stilted; and his description graphic even to the force and colour of nature. We now take our leave of these carefully compiled, entertaining, and useful volumes, cordially recommending them to every library in the kingdom."

FROM THE MORNING HERALD.*

"A most interesting and valuable Biography of the Marquess Wellesley. It is appropriately dedicated to Lord Brougham, the noble Marquess's most cherished and confidential friend to the close of his life. The work is voluminous; but the interesting events of the moment compel us to postpone its lengthened consideration. Lord Wellesley lived to see the glory and the wisdom of his Indian policy unanimously recognised. He, who in seven years added one-half to the territories of the Company, to its subjects 40 millions, and to its revenue 10 millions sterling — he, who destroyed Tippoo Saib, overthrew Scindia, broke up the powerful Mahratta confederacy, extirpated the French, subjugated the Berah Rajah, founded a university, circulated the Scriptures and established Christian churches, wisely regarding every principle of toleration—combining the duties of the 'Christian and the British Governor,' and blending 'war's victories' with those of peace —he, who achieved these miracles, amid every kind of discouragement and vexation, at the close of 40 years witnessed the consummation of his glory, and died, as it were, hearing the verdict of posterity."

FROM THE MORNING ADVERTISER.

"Through all these varied and important scenes, Mr. Pearce conducts the reader, who, with untiring interest, will follow the admirably arranged and composed narrative, with continually increasing respect and honour for this able and accomplished nobleman. These Memoirs have evidently been prepared with great labour, care, and precision. A lengthy list of the principal authorities consulted gives a good notion of the amount of time and trouble that must have been expended in writing a work so full of all requisite details; so ample in its statement of events; so deeply interesting from the nature and variety of those events; and so ably composed and arranged, through the perseverance, talent, and pains-taking qualities of its author."

FROM THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE.

"Mr. Pearce has brought to their compilation, sufficient facilities in point of information and fact, the requisite amount of industry, a large share of talent, and a good practical working liberality of tone. We have, consequently, as the result, three volumes, which will take their place by the side of the Life and Despatches of the noble brother of their hero; and are likely, as we conceive, to maintain that position."

FROM THE YORK HERALD.

"One of the most interesting biographical records we have ever perused."

FROM THE INQUIRER.

"An important addition to the historic literature of the period, and it is as creditable to its author as it is interesting to the public. The account of Lord Wellesley's Irish Administration is highly interesting; but we must abstain from further quotation, and conclude with a renewed expression of the information and pleasure we have derived from these volumes."

FROM THE SUNDAY TIMES.

"Already the Marquess's own Despatches had rendered the subject familiar to those who make the history of India their special study, taken, we mean, in conjunction with the Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, which both receive light from his brother's letters, and reflect light on them. The two works should in fact be studied together; and to give soundness and completeness to the study, Mr. Pearce's three volumes should be added to those of the two illustrious men above named. In an historical point of view, these Memoirs are full of value, and we dare say will be extensively popular. At least we are sure they deserve to be so."

* Repeated in the *Standard*.

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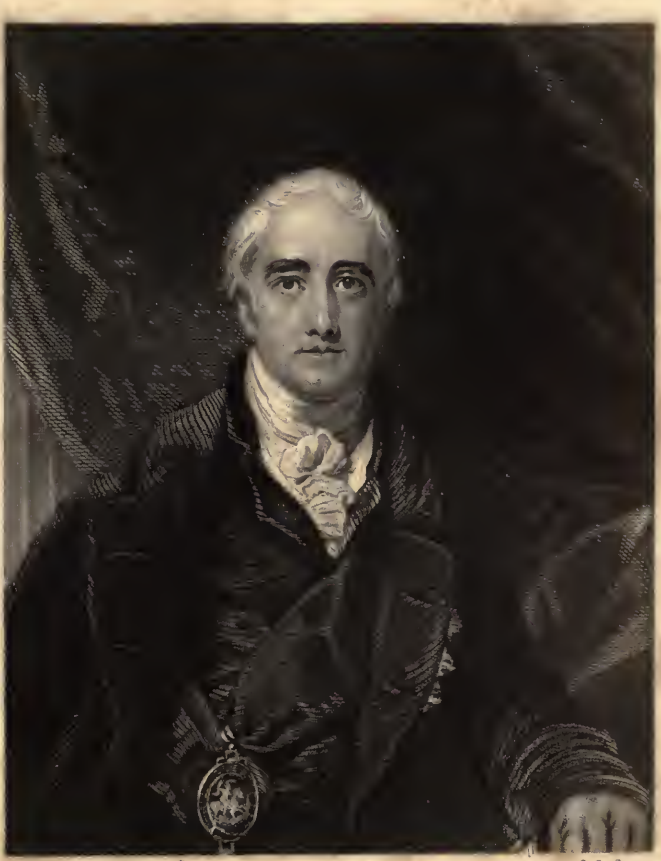

Sir T. Lawrence pinxt. G. Cook. sc

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE MOST NOBLE

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OF THE PUBLIC LIFE OF HIS ILLUSTRIOUS FRIEND,

THE LATE

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IS,

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MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT AND

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THE AUTHOR.

London, Dec. 1846.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE important events which have occurred on the banks of the Sutledj since the appearance of the first Edition of this Work have added a new interest to every subject connected with the political condition of India; and cannot fail to excite public curiosity respecting the origin, and progress of the great Empire, raised by British power in Asia. Viscount Hardinge is a worthy successor of Clive, Hastings, and Wellesley:—he was trained up in the school of the Wellesleys; and it will be found, on examination, that his policy, with reference to the Punjab, has been guided by the same comprehensive principles on which Lord Wellesley governed India. Lord Gough has emulated the renown of General Lake and Sir David Baird: Sobraon will be as celebrated in history as Assaye or Laswaree.

For the favourable reception which this work has met with at the hands of the public, and of an influential portion of the public press, the author is

bound to express his grateful acknowledgments. In one or two instances only, had he occasion to complain that his views were misrepresented, or his objects misunderstood.

The *Eclectic Review*, in its very able and discriminating criticism on these volumes (No. VI., vol. xix.; *June* 1846), does the author an injustice, which had it proceeded from an organ of less authority, he would have allowed to pass without remark. He is censured for having "violated all rules of right feeling and good taste" in comparing Messrs. O'Connell and Shiel to Moses and Aaron! The author is fully sensible of the imperfections which may be found in a work of this bulk, and extensive range; but in the case referred to, he is certainly not liable to the charge advanced against him. On reference to page 298, Vol. III. it will be seen that *he* did not originate the obnoxious figure,—but recorded a matter of *fact*. It is there stated: "He* was hailed, *in the poetic language of his enthusiastic followers*, as a Moses about to lead his brethren forth from the bondage of Goshen." In a note were added two lines from some popular verses, to the following effect:—

> Ye bondsmen of Egypt! a Moses appears,
> To lead your dark steps through this desert of tears!

It is not necessary now to discuss the *propriety* of the figure; but it is a fact that Mr. O'Connell was looked upon, by his Catholic brethren, as a man whose mission was similar in some respects to that of the son of Amram. How far the comparison may or may not be consistent with the rules of right feeling

* Mr. O'Connell.

and good taste, Posterity, after all, perhaps will be the only proper tribunal to decide. The author merely submits that he has not stepped beyond the line of an historian's duty, in recording the fervid language addressed to this remarkable public character,—who, in innumerable poems, speeches, and addresses, even within the walls of Parliament, has been described as the "Deliverer of his countrymen."

The author is so fully aware of the value of the approbation, bestowed in such handsome terms on his labours, by the *Eclectic Review*, that he is anxious to relieve himself from the aspersion (in the instance pointed out at least), of having erred against the canons of "right feeling," and "good taste."

It has been objected that these Volumes afford few details of the private affairs of the late Marquess Wellesley. The author might fairly shelter himself under the apology of the greatest of English biographers, in somewhat similar circumstances:—"As the process of these narratives is now bringing me among my contemporaries, I begin to feel myself walking upon ashes under which the fire is not extinguished, and coming to the time of which it will be proper rather to say *nothing that is false, than all that is true.*" The author proposed to delineate the public life of an eminent Statesman; to treat his subject historically; to present an accurate account of one of the most renowned of the remarkable families known in the annals of this kingdom; to trace the career of the Marquess Wellesley from Eton to the University, from the University to the Senate, from the Senate to the

Cabinet; to afford a full yet popular narrative of his splendid and unparalleled administration in India; and illustrate his policy, both in Asia and in Europe, by selections from the correspondence of Lord Wellesley, which, till the publication of these volumes, had not been accessible to the public. It was his object to bring into notice the wisdom and sagacity of the Marquess Wellesley's political views, the force and propriety of his maxims, the dignity of his oratory, the elegance of his scholarship, and the general success of his public measures; which were all liberal comprehensive, and grand, stamped with the characteristics of his own genius. It was no part of the author's plan to furnish materials for scandal, or to withdraw the veil from occurrences in which living persons were concerned, of which it would, perhaps, be difficult to speak without subjecting himself either to the reproach of sycophancy and servility on the one hand, or to the charge of censorious malevolence on the other.

A few corrections and alterations, suggested to the author, have been made in the body of the work.

Dec. 1846.

PREFACE.

THE events which marked the personal history, and developed themselves during the career of the illustrious subject of these Memoirs, were of no ordinary occurrence; in some respects they stand unparalleled in modern history. The transactions in which he was concerned were of the gravest importance; influencing materially the destiny of both Europe and Asia, and transmitting to posterity maxims and principles of government which modify the civilization of the nineteenth century, and which will long be felt in every part of the British Empire.

The times in which the Marquess Wellesley lived were signal; the men amongst whom he moved, and with whom he acted, were among the most distinguished and renowned that this nation ever produced.

When, by the early death of his father, this remarkable man was called from those classical studies in which he took delight, to enter upon the business of life, Great Britain and Ireland, though united under one Crown, were separate and distinct kingdoms. Under the anomalous constitution then existing, he sat as a peer in the upper legislative chamber in Ireland, and

contemporaneously was the representative of a borough in the British House of Commons. At that period the mass of the Irish people may be said to have been without the protection of the laws,—commerce was under the most stringent restrictions,—nor was it till several years subsequently, that the corn and agricultural produce of Ireland was admitted into England duty free ; the discussions on the great question of the Regency, in which Lord Wellesley took a prominent part, exhibited the spectacle of the British monarchy divided against itself ; and prepared the way for the Legislative Union, which was achieved soon after on the guarantee, that equal rights should be conferred upon all the inhabitants of the United Kingdom without distinction of race or creed. When the French Revolution astounded the nations of the earth, Lord Wellesley (then Earl of Mornington) was a Minister of the Crown. In all the questions which arose out of the excentric moral phenomena observable during that tremendous epoch, he took a part, and appeared publicly as a champion against the enemies of the monarchical principle and the system of Revealed Religion. He assumed a decided Anti-Gallican attitude ; and strenuously advised and supported the war against the French revolutionary Government. His conflict with Mr. Sheridan on this topic in the House of Commons, established his reputation as a vigorous and eloquent debater, though his speech on the occasion referred to, had to endure comparison with one of the finest rhetorical outbursts of his brilliant and finely cultivated antagonist.

The topics of Parliamentary Reform, the Irish Volunteers, the Slave Trade, the Prosecutions for

High Treason, Seditious Meetings, the traitorous proceedings of the Society of United Irishmen organized by Theobald Wolf Tone, the India Bill, &c.,—all pass in review in tracing the life of Lord Wellesley; nearly every portion of which, from the moment of his attaining manhood, was consecrated to the public service.

Prior to his appointment as Governor-General of India in 1797, we see him sitting as a Peer in the Irish House of Lords—successively member in the Parliament of Great Britain for the boroughs of Beeralston, Saltash, and Windsor—one of the Knights of St. Patrick, on the original foundation of that illustrious order—a Privy Councillor in Ireland—a Lord of the Treasury in England—a Member of the English Privy Council—a Commissioner for the affairs in India—a Baron of Great Britain.

Nor is it possible to contemplate the career of the Marquess Wellesley apart from the history of those brothers—and such brothers!—over whose education, establishment in life and fame, he watched with such genuine fraternal affection. To his care the venerable hero, whose military renown has become one of the most valued properties of this country, was indebted for favourable opportunities for displaying his wonderful genius in war. As Governor-General of India in the first instance, and afterwards as Ambassador Extraordinary in Spain, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Marquess Wellesley had the power of advancing and supporting his brother. Appreciating the sterling qualities of the man, and knowing the innate vigour and sagacity of his brother's capacious mind, he

never hesitated to employ his influence to procure the Honourable Arthur Wellesley's advancement; for, notwithstanding the obloquy to which it exposed him, he was honourably conscious that in promoting his relative to posts of trust and difficulty, he was conferring an advantage on his Country.

But the Marquess Wellesley's Indian administration is justly regarded as the most splendid period of his Lordship's history; though perhaps its lustre has, in some degree, tended to cast in the shade other portions of his public services of great utility. When he assumed the reins of Government in Bengal, British power was tottering in the Indian Peninsula. Although the French settlements of Masulipatam, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Carical, and Mahé, had, in 1778, fallen into the hands of the British, a strong Gallican party existed in India, whose constant efforts were employed to promote the views of France, and depress the interests of England in the East. His first care was effectually to counteract the pernicious designs of the French agents employed in the armies of the native princes, and by restoring the balance of power, which had been grievously disarranged under the imbecile and divided counsels of his predecessors, as well as by the formation of subsidiary treaties with the native powers, to take security for the safety of the British possessions against internal enemies. His caution and decision in the war with Tippoo Sultaun, which crushed the hopes of the French in India, and the promptitude with which he fitted out an expedition to coöperate from the Red Sea, with the British and Turkish forces against the French in Egypt, completely thwarted the designs

of the French Directory, and foiled the gigantic plans of Buonaparte, who had hoped, with the aid of Tippoo and other insurgent chiefs, to build upon the ruins of the British power in the East, an empire that was to combine the glories of Alexander, Mahomet and Charlemagne! Lord Wellesley anticipated every movement of Buonaparte,—he took every precaution that human foresight could suggest, to baffle the machinations of the enemy and maintain the integrity of, and impart security to, the vast possessions committed to his charge. The wisdom of the Marquess Wellesley's policy in India is now universally recognised; the voice of all parties is unequivocally expressed in its favour. The calumnies and misrepresentations with which his measures were for a time assailed, have perished and are forgotten; and the importance of his public services is gratefully recorded by the great Company who sway the destinies of British India;—at whose expense his official dispatches have been circulated for the instruction of the servants of the East India Company in the principles which should guide their public conduct.

Lord Wellesley filled the offices of Ambassador Extraordinary in Spain, and his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at a most interesting period of the memorable struggle in the Peninsula, which he sustained with his characteristic constancy and vigour. Sir Arthur Wellesley's movements in the field, it will be found, were not of more importance to the general cause of enslaved Europe, than the less observed movements of the Marquess Wellesley in the cabinet.

An examination of Lord Wellesley's correspondence with the American Government and the British Plenipotentiary at Washington, will assist materially in developing the merits of the important controversies between England and the United States which led to the ill-advised and inglorious war between the two countries in 1812. Questions of the gravest importance in connection with the maritime rights of this kingdom, and the general principles of international law, are involved in those discussions, —which sprang out of the arbitrary and unwarrantable Decrees of Berlin and Milan, promulgated by Buonaparte for the purpose of destroying the commerce of Great Britain.

Lord Wellesley was among the ablest and steadiest advocates of Catholic Emancipation—and the great principles of civil and religious liberty identified with that question. It is deeply to be lamented that the motion which his Lordship made in the House of Lords in July 1812, and which was only lost by a majority of *one*, and that one a proxy, was defeated ;—Mr. Canning's motion having been carried in the House of Commons. A settlement of the question at that period would have prevented discussions that have since embittered the social and political condition of Ireland. Lord Wellesley continued to advocate, with undaunted zeal, that just and necessary measure till its final accomplishment in 1829.

To his Lordship belongs the merit of having crushed the Secret Societies which convulsed Ireland, and of having first grappled with that great Orange confederacy, which, banded together by secret oaths unknown to

the laws, perpetuated religious feuds and the contests of rival races in Ireland; excluded the mass of the population from the pale of the constitution; deprived the King's Roman Catholic subjects of every right and privilege that makes life valuable to free men, and rendered a real union between the two countries impossible. Originally organized for the purposes of self-defence and maintaining the power of England in Ireland, the Orange Society considered themselves an English garrison in a foreign and hostile land, that was to be retained by the force of arms and ruled by military terror and coercion. It is unquestionably true that they were unwavering in their allegiance, and that they preserved with heroic constancy a steady fidelity to the Crown and people of England, to whom they were attached by the ties of religion and blood; but as the reward of their fealty they considered that every office of trust and emolument rightly belonged to them, and they jealously and religiously excluded the most upright and the most honourable citizens of the Roman Catholic persuasion from a participation of power. Exclusion was one of their systematic rules of action; intolerance was, avowedly, a guiding principle. They believed, many of them most conscientiously, that it was necessary to act in the nineteenth century as their forefathers had acted six hundred years before. They never considered the amalgamation of Saxon and Celt a desirable object. Their whole policy was to keep themselves separate and distinct from their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. To impart equal rights to the Irish,—to cover them with the ægis of English law,—to promote the real incorporation of

Ireland with Great Britain by the abolition of odious and unphilosophical distinctions, and by the full recognition of the rights of conscience,—appeared to them to be extravagantly absurd. Such a confederacy, when inflamed by religious animosities and prejudices, and animated by a recollection of by-gone conflicts, would present an insuperable barrier to the improvement of any country. So long as Ireland was to be treated as a subjugated foreign province, the existence of a garrison, looking to England "as the rock from whence they were hewn," ready at any moment to appear in the field in arms to support the authority of the Crown, might have been useful and even necessary: but it is perfectly obvious that the perpetuation of such an institution, under the favour and protection of the Government, presented an insuperable barrier to the pacification of Ireland on the principle of rendering her inhabitants loyal and peaceable British citizens by abolishing all invidious distinctions. However laudable their intentions, and sincere their professions of loyalty were, the existence of an organized body with secret signs and symbols was a precedent for other dangerous and illegral associations, and was therefore to be deprecated as deeply injurious to the public peace.

Lord Wellesley was the first who ventured publicly to discourage the system of Orange ascendancy;—he inflicted a wound upon it from which it never recovered. The amelioration of Ireland is now *difficult;* but under the sway of the Orange system of exclusion on account of religious opinions, it was *impossible.*

Much has been said as to the difference between the Celtic and Saxon races, and many theories have been

based upon the differences supposed to be observable in what are considered pure specimens of both races. Without denying the general proposition, that different races of men are marked with distinguishing characteristics, we may be permitted to remark that there are great difficulties in the application of such theories to the condition of the Irish people. Climate has notoriously a powerful effect upon the human constitution; and it is not consistent with reason to suppose that there could be any radical and essential natural difference between the inhabitants of one portion of the British Isles and the other, whose progenitors had been established in these islands for upwards of a thousand years. As a matter of fact, too, there are great difficulties in deciding *who* are Celts and who are Saxons, there being a strong infusion of Anglo-Saxon blood among the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. Stature and weight of the human frame are fallacious standards; and the difference in habits of the two members of the British family is no certain criterion that there is an essential difference between the constitution of a Celt and Anglo-Saxon. How far are those habits to be ascribed to political circumstances? To what extent have they been modified by peculiarities of laws, institutions, social arrangements, and food? These questions require to be cautiously examined; a candid examination of them cannot fail to produce the conviction that the inferiority observable in the Celtic peasant in Ireland compared with the Anglo-Saxon, is mainly to be ascribed to the sinister effects of *misgovernment.* It is, perhaps, not too much to say that, if the Saxon rustics of

England had been trampled upon for ages,—if they had been denied the protection of those wise laws, bequeathed to them by their free ancestors, which have made England what she is,—if, instead of enjoying the beneficent effects of *a resident independent gentry and nobility, regularly performing their social duties*, the landed proprietary had been absentees, the estates of the country had frequently undergone confiscation, and the mass of the population been compelled to live upon the most inferior food,—it may be a question whether so great a difference would have been observable between the Celts and Saxons of the British Isles as now subsists. If all political distinctions were abolished—if equal laws and equal rights were extended to all Britons indifferently, and the blessings of just government, universal education, and, above all, the benign influence of a resident landed proprietary, were extended to Ireland, it may be affirmed with confidence that the leading differences between the peasantry of the two countries would gradually diminish and finally disappear.

Both the obsolete system of Ascendency, and the modern doctrine of Ireland for the *Irish*,—contra-distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon,—would be equally repugnant to the existence of that just and beneficial political equality in Ireland which Lord Wellesley was so desirous of establishing. Nor ought we to dismiss the subject without remarking, that while it appears not to be difficult to trace to political sources, many of the qualities which are considered marks of inferiority in the Celtic family, which have been ascribed to physical causes, it is

vain, and worse than vain, to seek to depreciate the Saxon race, whose robust manhood, perseverance, energy, skill, indomitable courage, and dignity of character have made the English name respected in the remotest corners of the earth!

Several practical ameliorations of the greatest importance distinguished the Viceroyalty of the Marquess Wellesley.

In the succeeding volumes the events of Lord Wellesley's life are laid before the reader, from the most authentic sources. The valuable collection of original manuscripts, presented by the representatives of the late Marquess to the British Museum, and deposited among the national archives, have, by special permission, been carefully examined, and such selections made from his Lordship's papers and the public records as were necessary to illustrate the subject of these volumes. A large collection of letters, written by some of the most celebrated of the Marquess of Wellesley's contemporaries, and illustrative of the times in which he lived, not hitherto published, have been added, and are incorporated with the work.

London,
Jan. 1846.

PRÉCIS OF THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY'S CAREER.

	YEAR
Born June 20th	1760
At Eton	1772
Entered Christ Church College, Oxford, Dec.	1778
Succeeded to the Earldom of Mornington May 22nd	1781
Took his seat in the Irish Parliament	1782
Knight of St. Patrick	1783
Member for Beeralston	1784
Member of Irish Privy Council	1785
A Lord of the Treasury (England)	1786
Member for Saltash	1787
Member for New Windsor, June	1788
British Privy Councillor	1793
Custos Rotulorum of the County of Meath	1796
Married Mademoiselle Roland, 29th November	1794
One of the Chief Remembrancers of the Irish Exchequer	1796
Created Baron Wellesley of Great Britain, 20th of October	1797
Governor-General of India	1797
Created Marquess Wellesley, December 2nd	1799
Captain General and Commander-in-Chief in the East	1800
Created Knight of the Crescent	1801
Returned from India	1805

	YEAR
Ambassador to the Supreme Central Junta of Spain, July 28th	1809
Returned from Spain, December	1809
Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, December	1809
Knight of the Garter	1810
Resigned the Order of St. Patrick	1810
Resigned the Office of Foreign Secretary	1812
Death of the first Marchioness of Wellesley	1816
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, December	1821
Second Marriage, October 29th	1825
Resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, March	1828
Appointed Lord Steward of the Household	1831
Resigned	1833
Second time Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, September	1833
Resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy, December	1834
Appointed Lord-Chamberlain to his Majesty	1835
Resigned	1835
Selections from his Lordship's Indian Dispatches, published	1838
Prints for private distribution a volume of Poems, Primitiæ et Reliquiæ	1840
East India Company resolve to place a marble Statue, in honour of Marquess Wellesley, in the India House	1840
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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

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THE Wellesleys are descended from an Anglo-Irish family of great antiquity. In a manuscript pedigree among the papers of the late Marquess Wellesley, which appears to be an authenticated copy from Irish genealogies in MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the Wellesley family is traced as high as the year A.D. 1239, to Michael De Wellesleigh, the father of Wallerand De Wellesleigh, who was killed, together with Sir Robert De Percival, (one of the Egmont family,) on the 22d of October, 1303. It is stated by Playfair, that the family is of Saxon origin ; deriving its name from the manor of Wellesley, anciently Welles-leigh, in the county of Somerset, which was held under the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and to which the family removed from Sussex soon after the Norman invasion. In the reign of Henry I. a grant of the grand serjeanty of all the country east of the river Perret, as far as Bristol Bridge, including the manor of Wellesleigh in the hundred of Wells, was made to one Avenant De Wellesleghe, whose descendant, according to some authorities, upon the embarkation of King Henry II. for Ireland, accompanied that Monarch in the capacity of standard-bearer. The manuscript pedigree, to which reference has been made, is silent on this point ; the statement apparently resting on a tradition in the family that a standard, preserved down to a late period in the mansion-house of

the family in Ireland, had been borne by one of its ancestors before Henry II. A banner of St. George appears in the crest of the family, which was probably worn in consequence of the royal grant of the grand serjeanty mentioned; tenants under that tenure having had the honour of carrying the King's sword or banner before him. In England the line was continued for seven generations from Avenant De Wellesleghe. In the sixth year of Edward III. we find Philip De Wellesleigh contesting with the powerful Abbot of Glastonbury the claim which that churchman had set up of exemption from the jurisdiction of the grand serjeanty, till then enjoyed by his family. He produced the original grant of Henry I., and the confirmations of his privileges by succeeding kings, and proved his descent from Avenant; thereby defeating the pretensions of the Abbot. Philip had no male issue, and his estates passed, by his daughter Elizabeth, into the family of Banastre, and from thence into other families. The English line of the De Wellesleighs thus became extinct.

We now turn to the Irish branch of this ancient house. William, the son of Wallerand De Wellesleigh, is described in the pedigree as Sir William De Wellesley (the family name now for the first time being written as it is at present). In the year 1339 Sir William was summoned to Parliament as a Baron of the realm, and had a grant by patent from Edward II. of the custody of his castle at Kildare, previously to the possession of it by the Fitzgerald family; to hold the same for life, with a fee of twenty pounds a year. Being afterwards obliged to yield up the fortress to

the Earl of Kildare, he received from Edward III. a grant of the custody of the manor of Demor in 1342. By his wife Elizabeth he had a son, Sir John De Wellesley, Knight, who was also summoned to Parliament, and acted a conspicuous part in the events of his time. Cox the historian, recorder of Kingsale, in his *Hibernia Anglicana* mentions, that in the year A.D. 1327, when Roger Outlaw, Prior of Kilmainham, the Lord Chancellor, was made Lord Justice of Ireland, David O'Tool, "a strong thief," who had been taken prisoner the Lent before by *Lord John* [*De*] *Wellesley*, was executed at Dublin. This O'Toole was one of the most active of the insurgent Irish chieftains. Sir John De Wellesley was appointed in 1334 a commissioner with extensive powers, to preserve the peace in Ireland; and a grant and free gift passed to him that year for services done against the O'Tooles, or O'Tothells, and for keeping the castle of Dunlavin, and driving out the O'Tothells; also a grant was made, December 2nd, to his father, Sir William, for services rendered by him in Munster, and as compensation for damages sustained by him in that province. Upon the arrival of Sir Ralph De Ufford in Ireland, and the attainder of Thomas Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond, in 1343, he became security, jointly with the Earls of Ulster and Ormond, seventeen knights, and sundry gentlemen of note, for the appearance of Desmond, upon whose flight the bond was sued out against them. One of his brothers appears to have been Vicar of Kildare, 1377–8. Sir John De Wellesley, by his first marriage, obtained considerable estates in the county of Kildare, and had one son, William. He

married again on the decease of his first wife, and acquired a large landed property by his second marriage. His son, who was under age at the time of his father's death, is described in the manuscript pedigree as Sir William De Wellesley of Paynestown, county of Meath, in which county the family have been settled from the year 1363 to the present generation. He was summoned to Parliament as a Baron of the Realm in 1374. In 1378 he served the office of Sheriff for the county of Kildare; and in 1381 received a commission from Richard II., appointing him keeper and governor of the castle, lands, and lordship of Carbery, and the lands and lordships of Totemoy and Kernegedagh for one year. In 1393 a writ was issued for granting him a reward for his labour and services performed against the O'Briens. His son, Sir Richard De Wellesley, served the same office of Sheriff of Kildare in 1418. Playfair mentions that at this period the family of Wellesley bore the title of "Barons of Norragh," and also distinct arms, sometimes quarterly with their paternal coat, and sometimes singly; and by an old MS. list of Peers of Ireland, it appears that one of this family was summoned to the Parliament called by Richard II. when in Ireland in 1399, the last year of his reign. Various records show that they had much property in the town of Norragh, the parish of Norraghmore, and the barony of Norragh and Rheban, in the county of Kildare; but whether their barony had been derived from the chief lord of the palatinate of Meath, and not from the Crown, or whatever was the reason, the right of sitting in Parliament as Barons

does not appear to have been exercised by their posterity; but they have since had a mere honorary appellation of Baron, Baronet, or Banneret of Norragh. Sir Henry Spelman, in his learned work "Glossarium," expressly refers to the Wellesley family and the Barrony of Norragh:

"Conjecturam auxit obiter quidam memorans, esse in Hibernia nonnullos quorum majoribus semel aliquando ad Parlimentum Regni illius vocatis, hæredes nomen *Baronettorum* retinuerunt. Qua fide nititur, non mihi constat: sed plures esse in Hibernia *Baronettos* certum est, hæreditariè hoc insignes titulo, ab antiquo. Scilicet (præter Nicholaum de S. Michale, Baronet de Rheban cujus meminit Camdenus in sua Hibernia):—

Sentleger, (quære	
St. Leger?)	Baronet de Flemarg.
Den,	Baronet de Portsmanstown.
Fitz Girald,	Baronet de Burnechurch.
Welleslie,	*Baronet de Norragh.*
Huseie,	Baronet de Galtrim.
S. Mighell,	Baronet de Scrine,
Nangle,	Baronet de Navan."*

Dengan Castle (the birthplace of the illustrious hero of Waterloo) came into the possession of the Wellesley family in the year 1411. Sir Richard De Wellesley is described as the first "Lord of Dengan," in right of his wife Joan, eldest daughter and heiress of Sir Nicholas de Castlemarten, by whom the castle of Dengan, (sometimes written Dangan,) together with the lordships of Dengan, *Mornington*, Croskyle, Clonebreny,

* Glossarium, p. 73.

Kilmessan, Belver, &c., accrued to the family. The fruit of this marriage was a son, Christopher of Dengan, father to Sir William De Wellesley also of Dengan, who married Ismay, daughter of Sir Thomas Plunket, Lord of Rathmore, and granddaughter of Sir Lucas Cusake, of Gerardstown ; by whom the Plunkets obtained the lordships of Killeen and Dunsany, which afterwards became principal seats and titles in their family.

About the year 1485 we find the prefix of "*De*" dispensed with ; the name being from henceforward written simply *Wellesley*, as at present. The issue of Sir William Wellesley and Ismay Plunket were, first, Gerald his heir, called Lord of Dengan in a special livery of his estate granted in 1539 : Gerald married Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, (second son of Thomas, seventh Earl of Kildare,) of Laccagh, Knight, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1484, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Viscount Gormanstown, Lord Deputy in 1484 : their second son was Walter Wellesley, Prior of the Canons of the mitred Abbey of Kildare. He is mentioned in *Holinshed's Chronicles** among the learned men of his day, and is styled by him "Deane of Kildare ;" he was employed in procuring the release of Richard Nugent Baron Delvin, the Lord Deputy, who was detained a prisoner in the hands of O'Connor. The learned priest was some time Master of the Rolls ; and in the year 1531, on the nomination of King Henry VIII.,

* Vide seventh chapter of the Description of Ireland. Holinshed adds " there is another learned man of the name, who is Archdeacon of St. Patricke's."

was appointed Bishop of Kildare by Pope Clement VII. It is noted in the manuscript, that he was "restored to the temporals 23rd September in the same year." He retained his priory by dispensation during his life; and on his death, in 1539, was buried in his convent. In the year in which the Bishop died an act was passed in a Parliament held in Dublin by the Lord Deputy, authorizing the King, his heirs, and successors, to be the supreme head of the church of Ireland, and denying the authority of the see of Rome. The third child of Sir William Wellesley and Ismay Plunket was a daughter Aleson, who was married to John Cusake, of Cushington, county of Meath, the fourth in descent from Sir John Cusake, Knight, and Joan Geneville, (to whom we shall have occasion to refer again,) and by him had issue Sir Thomas Cusake of Lismullen in that county, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and one of the Lords Justices, in 1552; whose daughter Catherine, being the eldest of seven, married Sir Henry *Cowley*, or, as it is sometimes spelt, *Colley* or *Coullie*, of Castle Carbery and Edenderry, Knight. By this marriage commenced the alliance, which we shall find was afterwards renewed by many intermarriages between the families of Cowley, Wellesley, and Cusake; of which three families the illustrious subject of these Memoirs was the common descendant.

The Cusakes derived their lineage, by heirs female, through the distinguished families of De Lacy, Geneville, Marshall, and Strongbow, from Dermot Macmorough, King of Leinster*; his daughter and heiress Eva having married Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pem-

* MS. Pedigree.

broke, whose daughter and heiress Isabella married William Marshall, who became in her right Earl of Pembroke. Their eldest daughter and co-heiress married Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk : the third son of this marriage, Ralph de Bigot, by Berta Furnival his wife, had a daughter Isabella, who, being his heiress, married to Gilbert De Lacy (grandson of Hugo De Lacy, the conqueror of Meath and Lord Justice of Ireland A.D. 1177, whose second wife * was the daughter of Roderick O'Connor, 56th King of Connaught, and 183rd and last Monarch of Ireland). The daughter and co-heiress of Gibert De Lacy, Maud, married Geoffery de Geneville, Lord Justice of Ireland ; whose great-granddaughter and heiress, Joan Geneville, by marriage with Sir John Cusake, conveyed to their posterity this lineage, and the right of quartering the arms of all these families, and also those of Grantmenil, Clare, and Gifford, through the families of Bigot and Strongbow : a right afterwards transferred to the family of Wellesley by the marriage of an heiress of the house of Cusake. The whole of this descent was conveyed to the family of Cowley by Catherine Cusake, wife of Sir Henry Cowley mentioned above. †

From this statement it will appear that the Marquess Wellesley, and the Duke of Wellington, were descended from, or allied to, two of the ancient Irish Kings !

The name of Wellesley we find was frequently written *Wesley*. Garret, who died at Dengan Castle 1683,

* This circumstance is recorded in the MS. Pedigree of the Wellesley family, more than once mentioned.

† Playfair, with MS. annotations by Lord Wellesley.

William his son, and Garret, who devised all his estates in 1745 to his cousin Richard Colley, Esq., (the paternal ancestor of the late Marquess Wellesley), wrote their names Wesley. Anthony Wood, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, in giving an account of Walter Wellesley, the prior of Kildare A.D. 1539, already mentioned, describes him as "Walter Wellesley, commonly called Wesley;" adding, "that he was bred up a canon regular of the order of St. Augustine, and among them in Oxford was educated for a time." It has been surmised that the family of the founder of Wesleyan Methodism originally came from Saxony, and that they were of the same stock as John Wesselus, the famous reformer; but it seems more probable that Wesley was a mere abbreviation of the old Anglo-Saxon name of Wellesleigh (*Wells*, the city, and *lea*, a field). There is a curious anecdote preserved in the Wesley family, and mentioned by Southey in his Life of Wesley, concerning the connection between the families of Wellesley and Wesley:—"While Charles Wesley was at Westminster under his brother, a gentleman of large fortune in Ireland, and of the same family name, wrote to the father, and inquired of him if he had a son named Charles; for if so, he would make him his heir. Accordingly his school bills, during several years were discharged by his unseen namesake. At length a gentleman, who is supposed to have been this Mr. Wesley, called upon him, and after much conversation asked him if he was willing to accompany him to Ireland: the youth desired to write to his father before he could make answer: the father left it to his own decision; and he, who was

satisfied with the fair prospects which Christ Church opened to him, chose to stay in England. John Wesley, in his account of his brother, calls this a fair escape: the fact is more remarkable than he was aware of, for the person who inherited the property intended for Charles Wesley, and who took the name of Wellesley in consequence, was the first Earl of Mornington, grandfather of Marquess Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington. Had Charles made a different choice, there might have been no Methodists, the British empire in India might still have been menaced from Seringapatam, and the undisputed tyrant of Europe might at this time have insulted and endangered us on our own shores."

So much for the maternal family line of this "ancient house of fame:" we now turn to the family of Colley, or Cowley, which in 1745 assumed the name of Wellesley, or Wesley.

The Cowleys, we are assured by Playfair, are descended from a family of that name seated at Cowley, in the county of Stafford, one of whom, Robert, Lord of Couleye, was Seneschal in the reign of King Edward II. Two brothers of this family, Robert and Walter Cowley, settled in Ireland in the reign of Henry VIII., and held successively various public employments in that kingdom. In the twenty-second year of that reign a patent passed the great seal, granting to them jointly, during their respective lives, the office of Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. Robert, after having filled various offices, became Master of the Rolls in Ireland. He was appointed in 1540 a commissioner for letting the lands of the dissolved abbeys, and one of the keep-

ers of the peace within the county of Meath, with power to enforce the statutes of Dublin and Kilkenny. He is mentioned by Hooker as one of the four principal enemies of the house of Kildare. "This gentleman, Robert Cowley," adds he, "for his wisdom and policy was well esteemed of the lady Margaret, Countesse of Ossorie, as one by whose advice she was in all her affairs directed." His brother Walter was appointed Solicitor-General of Ireland in 1537, with a fee of ten pounds a year, and was afterwards Surveyor-General of the kingdom.

Sir Henry Cowley, or Colley, of Castle Carbery, was a member of the Privy Council in the reign of Elizabeth; and in the Parliament held in Dublin A.D. 1557, he represented Thomastown in the county of Kilkenny. The following letter, appointing him Providore of the Queen's troops, is a curious document. The Duke of Wellington's ancestors, it appears, were not ignorant of the science of feeding an army :—

"Thomas Sussex,

"To all Mayors, Shirifs, Bailives, Constables, Controllers, and all others the Queene's Majesty's Officers, Minysters, and lovinge Subjectes, and to every one of them greeting. Wee lette youe witte that wee have auctorised and appoynted, and by these presentes doth auctorise and appoynt, our well-beloved Henry Colley, Esquyer, or the bearer hereof in his name, to provyde and take up in all places, to and for the furniture of her Majesty's armie resydent within the realme of Irelande, as well within the liberties as withoute, within the said realme, salte, wyne, wodd, tymber,

lyme, brick, and cole for the furnyture of the said armie; and alsoo shipps, boats, lighters, gables, anchors, horsses, carriages, and all other provysion, for the conveniaunce of the same, as well by sea as by lande: and also bakers, breawers, coopers, millers, maryners, labourers, and all artificers and ministers as by hym shall be thought meete and convenient, from tyme to tyme for the service aforesaid: and also bake-houses, brew-houses, garnells, and sellers for the stowage of the same, as by him shall be thought good; he paying for the same at reasonable prices as hathe bene accustomed. Wherefor we will and commaunde youe and every one of youe, &c. Yeven at Kilmaynam, the 25 of June the yere aforesaid (1561). Willm. Fitz Williams, Henry Radcliff, Francis Agarde, John Parker, Jaques Wyngefelde."*

He received the honour of knighthood from the Lord Deputy Sydney, who recommended him to his successor Lord Gray in the following terms: "My good lord, I had almost forgotten, by reason of the diversity of other matter, to recommend unto you, amongst other of my friends, Sir Henry Cowley, Knight of my own making; who, whilst he was young and the vigour and strength of his body served, was valiant, fortunate, and a good servant; and having by my appointment the charge of the King's county, kept the county well ordered and in good obedience. He is as good a borderer as ever I found any there. I left him at my coming thence a counsellor, and found him for his experience and judgment very sufficient for

* Rot. de anno 30 Eliz.

the room he was called unto. He was a sound and fast friend to me, and so I doubt not but your lordship shall find when you have occasion to try him." It appears from Nicholas Malby's account of the government of Ireland, drawn up and sent to Queen Elizabeth in 1579, wherein were distinguished all the men of power in the King's County, that Sir Henry Cowley was a man of name and power: "he is an English gentleman, Seneschal of the county, who governed very honestly, but now is sore oppressed by the rebels the Connors." His wife was Catherine Cusake, by whom he had issue three sons.

It would be tedious to trace the genealogy step by step: it will be sufficient, for the purpose of indicating the family history of the Marquess Wellesley to notice that Henry Colley, Esq., of Castle Carbery, who died in 1700, was succeeded by his second son Richard Colley, Esq., who came into possession of the Wellesley estates, and was elevated to the peerage in Ireland, by the title of Baron Mornington. In 1728 Garret Wesley, as has been already mentioned, devised all his estates to this Richard Colley, who was his cousin once removed, and was descended from the same stock of the families of Wellesley and Cusake, on the condition that he and his heirs should assume the surname and use the coat of arms of Wesley. "After the death of his cousin, Richard Colley, Esq. made a solemn declaration to the following effect: 'Whereas Garret *Wesley*, late of Dangan in the county of Meath, deceased, on March 13th, 1727 made his will, and died September 23rd last; and by his said will devised all his real estate to Richard Colley,

Esq., of Dublin, for life, remainder to his issue male with remainder over, provided that he and his sons, and the heirs male of his body, assumed and took upon them the surname and coat of arms of *Wesley;'* whereupon the said Richard Colley, alias *Wesley*, testified and declared that immediately after the death of the said Garret *Wesley* he did assume the surname and coat of arms of Wesley, according to the said proviso of the said will. Dated November 15th, 1728." *

It is not clearly known at what precise time this distinguished family adopted the ancient patronymic of Wellesley for the abbreviated name of Wesley. It is certain that when the Duke of Wellington went out to India, he was called the Hon. Arthur Wesley. On his arrival he presented to Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who preceded the Earl of Mornington as Governor-General of India, the following note from Lord Cornwallis:

"Dear Sir, I beg leave to introduce to you Colonel Wesley, who is Lieutenant-Colonel of my regiment; he is a sensible man and a good officer, and will, I have no doubt, conduct himself in a manner to merit your approbation.

"I am, &c., CORNWALLIS."

In the Journals of the Irish House of Commons the name is invariably spelt WESLEY. In 1790, among the list of Members is the Hon. William Wesley [Pole], for the borough of Trim; in 1793 we find his renowned brother sitting for the same borough as the Hon. Arthur Wesley. Lord Mornington is also described in the Irish *Parliamentary Register* as Richard

* Rot. pat. de anno 2 Geo. II.

Wesley, Earl of Mornington. In all the official papers of the Marquess Wellesley written during his administration in India, his brothers are invariably styled Wellesley.

Richard Colley Wesley having succeeded to the estates of his cousin, was in 1746 created by his Majesty a Peer by Privy Seal. He married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of John Sale, LL.D., Registrar of the diocese of Dublin ; and was succeeded by his son Garret, who in 1735 was advanced to the dignities of Viscount Wellesley of Dengan Castle, and Earl of Mornington, county of Meath. This was the father of the Marquess Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington. He was a Privy Councillor in Ireland, and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Meath. His Lordship married Anne, eldest daughter of Arthur Hill Trevor, first Viscount Dungannon, and had issue by his lady six sons and two daughters.

The Earl of Mornington was much distinguished for his musical compositions. He was considered, in his day, an eminent performer and composer ; and the University of Dublin conferred upon him the degree of Doctor and Professor of Music, as a testimony of their estimation of his numerous musical productions. His Lordship is ranked by authorities on music among our principal glee writers,* and was a prominent member of the Madrigal Society. Amongst the most admired of his compositions are the following,—"Here in cool grot;" "When for the world's repose;" "'Twas you, Sir;" "Gently hear me, charming maid;" "Come, fairest nymph;" and, "By Greenwood tree." The Earl of Mornington died on the

* Vide "History of Music," by William Cooke Stafford, Esq.

22nd of May, 1781, at Kensington, leaving his title to Richard Colley Wesley, Lord Wellesley, even then distinguished for his brilliant classical attainments, and destined soon to become one of the most illustrious among British statesmen.

The subject of these Memoirs was born on the 20th of June, 1760, at Dengan Castle, county of Meath, or, according to some, at the residence of the Wellesley family, Grafton Street, Dublin. He was at an early age placed by his father at Eton College; he held a high place in that venerable and distinguished seat of learning—the most celebrated for the classical scholars it has produced of any institution in the kingdom. Lord Wellesley was deeply attached throughout his long life to Eton. As we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, in another part of this work, some of the latest productions of his Lordship's pen were dedicated to his beloved Eton; and in testimony of the strong affection which he entertained toward the place where he received his first impressions of literary taste, and in accordance with his desire expressed before his death, his body was deposited in the vault of Eton chapel. Lord Wellesley was one of the principal contributors to the three volumes of the *Musæ Etonenses*. His Lordship's first contribution is dated 1778, and bears the motto, *Αμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρῆς*. It breathes the spirit of energetic patriotism which was so conspicuously exhibited in the Governor-General of India. We extract as a specimen the concluding twenty-three lines: *—

* They are slightly altered from the original in Lord Wellesley's *Primitiæ* (1841).

" Quid memorem, qualem sub libertate Britanna
Terra tulit prolem ? satis æquora subdita ponti,
Atque avulsa dolens nudatis lilia parmis
Gallia, et infracti toties testantur Iberi
Virtutem patrum, et generis molimina nostri.
At nec adhuc sacra Libertas, neque vividus ardor
Angliacos intra fines et pristina regna
Tam prorsus periere ; manet, manet illa juventæ
Vis animi, et flammæ scintilla relicta prioris ;
Quæ jam fulmineo Gallorum marte superbas
Frangat opes, nostrisque minantes arceat agris.
Illustres animæ patrum ! quos territa quondam
Gallia servilis vidit fundamina regni
Concutere, et trepidas latè dare jura per urbes ;
Vos saltem faustis cœlesti e sede nepotes
Respicite auspiciis : vos uno fœdere cives
Hostilem in gentem perjurique agmina Galli
Jungite ; discedat nostrâ Discordia Terrâ !
At jam certatim totis capit arma juventus
Litoribus ; jam sublimi resonantia pulsu
Tympana sæpe boves inter sulcosque colonus
Audiit assueseitque tubæ, gaudetque coruscâ
Prospiciens patrias latè per rura cohortes
Exultare acie, et castris albescere colles."*

In the same year we find the following :—

AD GENIUM LOCI.

O levis Fauni et Dryadum sodalis,
Finium tutela vigil meorum !
Qui meos colles et aprica lætus
Prata nemusque

* This was a period of great excitement and embarrassment in England. This country was at war with the revolted colonies of America, with which, on the 4th of Feb. 1778, France concluded a treaty of defensive alliance. Privateers and vessels, carrying American letters of marque, plundered British ships on the high seas, and menaced the coasts of Ireland and Britain. On the 23rd of April in that year, the audacious American pirate, Paul Jones, burnt a sloop in the harbour of Whitehaven ; and afterwards, landing on the western coast of Scotland, near Kirkcudbright, pillaged the house of Lord Selkirk of money and

Mobili lustras pede, nunc susurros
Arborum captans, modo murmurantis
Fluminis servans vitreos reductâ in
Valle meatus!
Dic ubi attollat melius superbum
Verticem pinus? rigidosque quercus
Implicans ramos nimis æstuosam
Leniat horam?
Namque Tu saltu tibi destinato
Excubas custos operosus, almæ
Fertilem silvæ sterilemque doctus
Noscere terram:
Dum malum noctis piceæ tenello
Leniter verris folio vaporem, et
Sedulus virgulta foves, futuræ
Providus umbræ.
Lauream sed campus Apollinarem
Parturit myrtosque vigentiores;
Omnis et te luxuriat renascens
Auspice tellus:
Te, rosâ pulchrum caput impedita,
Candidi conjux facilis Favoni
Ambit, ut vernos tuearis æquo
Numine flores.
Lætus O! faustusque adeas, precamur,
Nil mei prosunt sine te labores,
Nil valeat, cultum nisi tu secundes,
Rustica cura.

In the third volume of the *Musæ Etonenses*, which is exclusively occupied with compositions in Greek, the first piece is by Lord Wellesley. Having spent several years at Eton, under the provostship of the Rev. Jonathan Davies, M.A., * his Lordship was sent to the University of Oxford:

plate; in the following year, the united fleets of France and Spain, under Count D'Orvilliers, appeared in the Channel in great force, menacing our shores, and exciting a general fear of an invasion.

* In a note written in 1840, the Marquess Wellesley thus describes this gentleman. "Doctor Jonathan Davies, Head Master and afterwards

" To that fair city, wherin make abode
So many learned imps, that shoot abroad,
And with their branches spread all Britainy,
No less than do her elder sister's brood :
Joy to you both ye double nursery
Of arts, but Oxford ! thine doth Thame most glorify."*

He matriculated as a nobleman at Christ Church December 24th, 1778. In the congenial exercises of this college, Lord Wellesley employed himself with all the ardour of a youthful mind bent upon achieving that fair fame which the poet tells us,—

" All hunt after in their lives." †

It would fill a volume to enumerate all the eminent men that Christ Church College has sent forth. Among the statesmen and lawyers who have received their education there, may be mentioned Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Edward Littleton, Edward Sackville Earl of Dorset, Lord Littleton, William Earl of Mansfield, the Right Hon. George Canning, and Sir Robert Peel, Bart. ; among the poets, and other remarkable members of this great intellectual brotherhood, are, Sir Philip Sydney, Ben Jonson, Otway, Villiers Duke of Buckingham, William Penn, Locke, and Lord Bolingbroke.

Lord Wellesley was much distinguished for his proficiency in classical literature ; and in 1780 gained the Latin Verse Prize, " In obitum viri eximii et celeberrimi navigatoris Jacobi Cook." ‡ He remained at

Provost of Eton, who had been tutor to Lord Wellesley when first he entered Eton school, at the age of eleven years, *and who always bestowed the solicitude and affection of a kind parent on the education of Lord Wellesley.*"

* Spenser. † " Love's Labour Lost."

‡ The Rev. William Jackson (afterwards Bishop of Oxford) was tutor to Lord Wellesley when he was elected from Eton a student of

Oxford till 1781, when he was called away from his favourite studies to the more active business of life by the death of his father, the Earl of Mornington, who died on the 22nd of May in that year: he did not remain long enough to take a degree. The embryo statesman now returned to Ireland: he attained his majority in the month following his father's death: his first act on becoming of age was characteristic of the generosity and integrity of his manly nature. He voluntarily took upon himself the numerous pecuniary obligations of his deceased father, and exhibited his filial affection toward his surviving parent by placing the estates, to which he had succeeded, under the management of his mother. His Lordship also directed his attention to the intellectual training of his brothers, who were all greatly indebted to him for his watchful and prudent superintending care in early life. On the death of their father, William Wellesley Pole* was eighteen years old, Anne Wellesley† thirteen years, Arthur Wellesley‡ twelve years, Gerald Valerian§ ten, Mary Elizabeth‖ nine, Henry eight years old.¶

Christ Church. Wishing that Lord Wellesley should be a candidate for the University prize, and anxious to try his powers of writing hexameter verses, he desired Lord Wellesley to translate a passage from the Arcades of Milton into that metre. Mr. Jackson approved of the verses which Lord Wellesley wrote, and encouraged Lord Wellesley to write for the prize; which he did accordingly in the year 1780, and won it by a poem on the death of the celebrated navigator Captain Cook. (*Note by Marquess Wellesley.*)

* Afterwards Lord Maryborough.

† Married to Henry, son of Lord Southampton.

‡ Duke of Wellington.

§ In the Church.

‖ Lady Culling Smith.

¶ Lord Cowley.

CHAPTER II.

Lord Wellesley (Earl of Mornington) enters upon public life, 1781.—State of Europe and America.—The Age of great men—Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Burke, Curran, Plunkett, Grattan, Flood, Grey, Erskine.—Takes his seat in the Irish House of Lords.—Repeal of Poyning's Law.—Position of the Parliament of Ireland.—In favour of Catholic Emancipation.—Advocates Economy in the Government Expenditure.—A Knight of St. Patrick.—Lord Bellamont attacks the Order.—Earl of Mornington defends it.—Advocates the holding a Parliament every Year.—Censures the Profusion of Government.—Supports a loyal Address to the Crown.—Objects to the Position of the Volunteers.—Armed Convention in Dublin.—Excited state of Public Feeling.—Lord Mountmorres's Reply to the Earl of Mornington, ridiculing his theatrical gesture.—Speech for the Liberty of the Press. Elected Member in the English Parliament for Beeralston.—1785, Privy Councillor in Ireland.—1786, Lord of the English Treasury.—Colleague of Pitt.—Speaks on the Rohilla War.—Attacks Lord North.—Returned for Saltash.—Speaks on the Treaty of Commerce with France.—Elected Member for Windsor.—The King's Indisposition.—The Regency Question.—Opposes the Pretensions of the Prince of Wales in Ireland.—Protests.—Defends the Lord Lieutenant.—Extraordinary proceedings of the Irish Parliament.—Collision with the English Parliament.—Remarks on the Regency Question.—Historical Retrospect.—Great Importance of the Constitutional principle at issue.—Recovery of Geo. III.—Earl of Mornington re-elected for Windsor.

THE period at which the youthful Earl of Mornington entered upon public life, was one of the most eventful epochs in the history of modern Europe. Shortly afterwards the French Revolution shook, as it were with an earthquake, the whole civilized world. The principles which were promulgated in revolution-

ary France—principles of philosophy, "falsely so called,"—threatened to overturn the most powerful monarchies; and essentially modify, if not utterly change, the whole structure of society.

The public mind in England was much excited on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. This country, oppressed with debt, was engaged in war; and the proceedings of several treasonable societies, which, at the instigation of bold bad men, contemplated a change in the constitution of the country by means of violence, created alarm for the public safety; and afforded a seeming excuse for the employment of coercive measures hostile to the spirit of the common law, and hazardous to public liberty.

A young republic was established on the distant shores of the western world, which professed to be based on perfect equality and freedom, and boasted that it recognised in all their dignity the inalienable rights of man. It was the age, too, of great men—of splendid intellects—brilliant imaginations—unrivalled eloquence. Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, Flood, Burke, Erskine, Curran, Plunkett, Grattan, and other "burning and shining lights," were shedding the rays, either of their rising or setting sun, upon this kingdom; and Great Britain and France were cradling two of the greatest warriors that ever appeared on the battle-fields of ancient or modern times. In 1781, when the Earl of Mornington took his seat in the House of Peers, in College Green, Dublin, Ireland was agitated by the splendid and astonishing appeals of Henry Grattan*—one of the noblest pa-

* "No government ever dismayed him—the world could not bribe him

triots, and most upright characters ever recorded in history :

> " So simple in heart, so sublime in the rest !
> With all that Demosthenes wanted endued,
> And his rival or victor in all he possess'd."*

In 1780 the Irish Parliament passed the memorable resolution, " That the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Lord and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland ;" and a body of armed volunteers, amounting to 50,000 men, demanded from England the recognition of the legislative independence of Ireland. We have no means of knowing the sentiments of the Earl of Mornington on the question of Irish independence ; but recollecting the strength of his Lordship's love for his native country, and the statesmanlike sagacity that marked the whole of his subsequent career, we may safely assume that his Lordship would have been prepared to insist either that Ireland should be completely identified with Great Britain—admitted into the great imperial co-partnership on terms of perfect equality—permitted to participate in all the inestimable advantages of English laws, English institutions,

—he thought only of Ireland—lived for no other object—dedicated to her his beautiful fancy, his elegant wit, his manly courage, and all the splendour of his astonishing eloquence. He was so born, and so gifted, that poetry, forensic skill, elegant literature, and all the highest attainments of human genius were within his reach ; but he thought the noblest occupation of a man was to make other men happy and free ; and in that straight line he went on for fifty years, without one side-look, without one yielding thought, without one motive in his heart which he might not have laid open to the view of God and man."—*Rev. Sydney Smith.*

* Byron.

and English customs—or else rendered competent to legislate for herself, freely and independently, without the humiliating, unjust, and insulting provisions of Poyning's law,* which gave the Anglo-Irish a Parliament, without the power of action—a mere chamber for the registration of the decrees of his Majesty's Privy Council. Lord Mornington was in favour of the removal of the disabilities of his Catholic fellow-countrymen from the earliest period of his public life ; and happy would it have been for this kingdom, had the eloquent counsels of this statesman prevailed in the legislature, at the time when he urged upon Parliament the settlement of the great Catholic question. The Earl of Mornington at once began to take an active part in the discussions in the Irish House of Peers ; and at an early date we find him urging upon the Ministry the duty of economy in the administration of the government. On the 5th of February, 1783, King George the Third ordered letters patent to be passed the Great Seal of the kingdom of Ireland, for creating a society or brotherhood, to be called Knights of the Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, of which his Majesty, his heirs and successors, were constituted in perpetuity Sovereigns ; and his Majesty's Lieutenants-General, and General Governors of Ireland, &c., Grand Masters. The letters patent, dated Whitehall, February 5th, appointed the following knights companions of the newly-created order.†

* 10 Henry VII. c. 23.

† "It hath been the custom of wise and beneficent princes, in all ages, to distinguish the virtue and loyalty of their subjects by marks of honour, to be a testimony of their dignity and their excellency in all qualifications which render them worthy of the favour of their Sovereign

His Royal Highness Prince Edward.
His Grace William Robert, Duke of Leinster.
Henry Smith, Earl of Clanrickarde.
Randal William, Earl of Antrim.
Thomas, Earl of Westmeath.
Morrough, Earl of Inchiquin.
Charles, Earl of Drogheda.
George de la Poer, Earl of Tyrone.
Richard, Earl of Shannon.
James, Earl of Clanbrassen.
Richard, Earl of Mornington.*
James, Earl of Courtown.
James, Earl of Charlemont.
Thomas, Earl of Bective.
Henry, Earl of Ely.
Chancellor, his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.
Register, the Very Rev. the Dean of St. Patrick's.
Secretary, Lord Delvin.
Ulster, William Hawkins, Esq.
Usher, John Freemantle, Esq,

On the 23rd of October, in the same year, Lord Mornington having moved an address of thanks to Lord Temple, the late Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Bella-

and the respect of their fellow subjects; that so their eminent merits may stand acknowledged to the world and create a virtuous emulation in others to deserve such honourable distinctions," &c.—*Royal Warrant of the Order of St. Patrick, Feb.* 1783; *Blackstone,* vol. i. chap. xii.

Collar days for the most illustrious Order of St. Patrick:—Christmas Day: New Year's Day; Twelfth Day; St. George's day; Easter and Whit Sundays; All Saint's day (if on a Sunday); St. Patrick's day; St. Andrew's day.

* The Marquess Wellesley resigned the dignity of a Knight of St. Patrick in 1810, on his investment as Knight of the Garter.

mont* animadverted with some severity on the rise and manner of the appointment of the order of St. Patrick, complaining of the neglect of his own services. Lord Mornington, according to the painfully brief reports in the *Parliamentary Register*,† "spiritedly replied; and Lord Bellamont answered and declared that he meant nothing personal to his Lordship; which apology was politely accepted." On the 3rd of November Lord Mornington supported the motion of Lord Mountmorres, "that a session of Parliament should be holden every year in this kingdom;" urging that the motion was strictly parliamentary and constitutional; that the situation of the country required it; that they (the Peers) were the hereditary counsellors of the Crown and nation—the medium between the King and the people; and that it was the duty of the House to advise his Majesty on the wants and necessities of the State. On the 26th of the same month we find the noble Lord commenting on the profusion practised by the administration in several instances. He condemned large and expensive grants, inadequate to the circumstances of the country—great sums given for the ease and indolence of great cotton manufacturers, rather than for the encouragement of manufacture—an increase of the salary of the Lord Lieutenant, and £2000 a year for his secretary, with other alarming increase of ex-

* Lord Bellamont was rather a conspicuous person in his day. He is described as "a nobleman of much quickness of parts, of real but very singular talents, and most fantastic in the use of them." He was very severely wounded in a duel with the Marquess Townshend, on which occasion Lord Charlemont acted as his second.

† Dublin, 1793.

pense. "He did not," he said, "mention these things, or rise merely with an intention to oppose Government; but he wanted to know what was the economical plan of Government, or whether they had any such? If," he continued, "they ran into extraordinary expenses, he would, even if he should have the misfortune of standing alone, oppose every expensive measure." But though Lord Mornington did not hesitate to condemn the administration when he thought it his duty to do so, he was always ready to give the Government his independent support when the occasion required it. His Lordship took a leading part in the debate on the 1st of December, 1783, on the message from the Commons bringing up a resolution, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to declare the perfect satisfaction which we feel in the many blessings we enjoy under his Majesty's most auspicious government, and our present happy constitution; and to acquaint his Majesty, that at this time we think it peculiarly incumbent upon us to express our determined resolution to support the same inviolate, with our lives and fortunes."

Lord Mornington was one of those who considered that the proceedings of the volunteers were unconstitutional; and that an armed assembly, holding regular sittings in the vicinity of the Houses of Parliament, should not be permitted to dictate to, or overawe the legislature. It is presumed that it was on this ground alone that he supported the resolution sent up from the House of Commons; for, looking at the abject slavery in which the mass of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland then groaned—trodden down by

as cruel a system of despotism as ever was devised by the evil genius of mankind; and recollecting the then state of parliamentary representation in all parts of the United Kingdom, it would be difficult to justify the expression of that "perfect satisfaction" in the "many blessings" enjoyed under his Majesty's "most auspicious government," and the existing "happy constitution." Lord Mornington, in addressing the House of Lords, said:—"This address comes from the Commons, and they desire your Lordships to concur in it. The assembly of the volunteers has sat for nearly three weeks, with all the forms of Parliament; and will any noble Lord say they have no intention to infringe the privileges of Parliament, and to attempt the total extinction of the laws of the land. Have not both Houses of Parliament been surrounded by armed mobs? and will any man pretend to say it is not time for this House to interfere? Shall any noble Lord, high in office though not in confidence, or any noble Lord in confidence though not in office, not have a sense of the danger of the times, as the House of Commons seem to have. I am for this address, and upon this ground, that it offers to his Majesty a sufficient and a necessary pledge of our loyalty and affection to his person and the constitution of the country: and to the people it speaks our firmness—for Parliament will not be robbed of its privileges, even by its own children; and we cannot, for the sake of our posterity, suffer it. We ought to give the Government our assistance, when its imbecility may require it, to support the Constitution. *A great deal has been said relative to the volunteers; there is no man that*

*reveres, that respects, them more than I do; their temper and moderation have made the greatest impression on my mind; but I am not blind to their imperfections, when I find that they have gone beyond the original idea of their institution.** If," added his Lordship, emphatically, "the Constitution is suffered to be infringed, I will not remain to be a witness of it, but leave the country. If the Constitution is not supported, no body of people can be happy." The reply of Lord Mountmorres was principally directed against the Earl of Mornington:—"To enter into a competition with the noble Lord (Mornington)," said he, "I should wish to avoid. The public interest may be promoted by our co-operation, but not much by our collision. Discretion tells me that among the candidates for public opinion and popular fame, Fortune, *like other females*, usually prefers the younger to the older claimant. I shall give the noble Lord full credit

* The appearance of Mr. Flood and of the delegates by whom he was accompanied in *their volunteer uniforms* in the Irish House of Commons, excited an extraordinary sensation. On both sides the passions were worked up to a dangerous height. The debate lasted all night. The tempest (for, towards morning, debate there was none) at last ceased. The question was put, and Mr. Flood's motion for Reform in Parliament was negatived by a very large majority. The House of Commons then entered into resolutions declaratory of their fixed determination to maintain their just rights and privileges against any encroachments whatever. Meantime an *armed convention* continued sitting the whole night, waiting for the return of their delegates from the House of Commons, and impatient to learn the fate of Mr. Flood's motion. (*Edgeworth.*)—Whoever was present in the House of Commons on the night of the 29th of Nov. 1783, cannot easily forget what passed there. I do not use any disproportionate language, when I say the scene was most terrific. *Several of the minority and all the delegates who had come from 'the Convention,' were in military uniforms,* and bore the aspect of stern hostility.—(*Hardy.*)

for the display of abilities we have witnessed. I admit that he has held manly language. The character which has been drawn by a masterly hand, by the great Speaker of the Convention Parliament (by Lord Halifax)—the character of a trimmer—will not apply to the Noble Earl—trimming will not be evidenced by his conduct; neither, I am persuaded, will his Lordship TRIM* upon this, or upon any other, occasion. To the big words and inflated expressions which I have heard of danger to the Constitution, and insults from conventions of armed men, I answer in two short emphatic words—Prove it. If formidable spectres, portending the downfall of the Constitution, were to appear in this House, I admit that the noble Lord is frightened with becoming dignity. The ancient Roscius, or the modern Garrick, could not stand with a better grace at the appearance of a spectre." On the 11th of December, in the same session, Lord Mornington delivered a speech on the liberty of the press; observing, that any invasion on the liberty of the press, while restrained within just bounds, would, in his apprehension, be highly detrimental to the liberty of the subject.

But Lord Mornington, who had now attained his 24th year, could not confine his ambition to the subordinate Parliament of Ireland; he longed to enter on a wider field; and, without neglecting his duty in the Irish House of Peers, aspired to a place in the Parliament of England, where he might measure weapons with some of his contemporaries of Eton and Oxford,

* An allusion to the borough of Trim, under Lord Mornington's influence.

who now began to distinguish themselves in debate. At the general election of 1784, his Lordship was returned to the British House of Commons, as member for Beeralston, a small borough-town near the river Tamer, Devonshire; which returned two members from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the Reform Act, when its powers were extinguished. It was a nomination borough, in the patronage of the Earl of Beverley. In the year 1785 the Earl of Mornington was sworn a member of the Privy Council for Ireland; and so rapidly did his Lordship rise in public estimation, that in September 1786 he was appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury, or Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Treasurer of England; his colleagues being the Right Hon. William Pitt, James, Marquis of Graham, Hon. E. J. Elliot, and Sir John Aubrey, Bart. The first occasion on which the Earl of Mornington addressed the English House of Commons, was on the debate on the articles against Mr. Hastings, and the conduct of the Rohilla war. He attacked Lord North with a good deal of spirit. "He expressed his surprise at the extraordinary reasons which the noble Lord had assigned for his having three times appointed Mr. Hastings to the chief place in the government of Bengal, subsequent to the Rohilla war. First, the noble Lord had said that he knew nothing of the Rohilla war till lately; this was an extraordinary declaration from a noble Lord who had been at the head of his Majesty's councils at the time; for who ought to know such a fact, but an administration possessing the then newly-given control and inspection over the Company's affairs and dispatches. Next, the

noble Lord had expressed great delicacy with regard to interfering with the East India Company's constitution. He was glad to hear that the noble Lord's delicacy, on that subject, had been of such antiquity: he presumed, therefore, that it had been owing to that subservieney, which a right honourable gentleman had lately talked of exacting from all parties which coalesced with him or his friends, that the noble Lord had condescended to pursue that line of conduct which he had followed in respect to a bill relative to the East India Company, which was not a little famous in that House, and throughout the country. The noble Lord had stated to the House, that the Court of Directors condemned every one of the acts of Mr. Hastings; and therefore the noble Lord thought it would be wrong to turn him out of the Government! A most extraordinary reason, with an explanation to which he hoped the noble Lord would favour the House; not without stating (what he had hitherto omitted) his sentiments concerning the subject of the present debate."

Having vacated his seat for Beeralston, on his appointment as a Lord of the Treasury, Lord Mornington was elected for the borough of Saltash, on the river Tamer, in Cornwall, within a few miles of Beeralston, January 23rd, 1787; but the return being petitioned against, his Lordship was unseated by a Parliamentary Committee; John Lemon, Esq., being declared to be entitled to the seat. In the February of that year, we find the rising Statesman taking a part in the great debate on the Treaty of Commerce with France; on which occasion Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Charles Grey, Mr. Flood, Mr. Grenville

and Mr. Wilberforce addressed the House. Lord Mornington rose immediately after Mr. Burke had spoken, and delivered a highly effective speech. There is one passage in his address which is worthy of preservation. "It had been eloquently urged, that whatever might be the commercial merits of the treaty in a political view, it prostrated the Majesty of this country at the feet of France, and deposed Great Britain from the throne of Europe. HE ANSWERED, THAT THE TRUE MAJESTY OF GREAT BRITAIN WAS HER TRADE, AND THE THRONE OF THE COMMERCE OF THE WORLD WAS THE FITTEST OBJECT OF HER AMBITION. He said that the industry and ingenuity of our manufactures, the opulence which these had diffused through various channels, the substantial foundation of capital on which they had placed our trade—capital which had that night been well described as predominant and tyrant over the trade of the whole world — all these, as they had been our best consolation in defeat, were the most promising sources of future victory ; and that to cultivate, to strengthen, and to augment these, could not be inconsistent with the glory of the kingdom."

In June, 1788, the Earl of Mornington was elected member of the royal borough of Windsor ; and in that year was called upon to take a part in the counsels of the administration, on the great and eventful controversy on the Regency Question, which arose in consequence of the attack of mental derangement with which George III. was afflicted.

With the exceptions only of the case of the Convention Parliament, which assembled (contrary to the letter of the law, and the constitution of the country) with-

out the King's writ, to recall Charles II., and the case of the Parliament, which assembled at the call of the Prince of Orange, at the Revolution, 1688, to declare the throne of these realms vacant, the Regency Question, in 1788, is decidedly the most interesting point of constitutional law which has arisen in modern times. An emergency arose, for which the wisdom of our ancestors had made no provision: our statesmen were thrown back on first principles: they had to examine the foundations on which the venerable pillars of the British Constitution were based. The Lord President of the Council expressed his opinion, "that, in consequence of the absence and incapacity of the King, the legislature was defective and incomplete; whence all the functions of the executive government of the country were actually suspended." The Lord President stated the case too strongly; but the Parliament was unquestionably reduced to a most momentous dilemma. To vest the powers of royalty in another individual, even for a limited period, to the prejudice of the reigning Sovereign, required an act of Parliament: the King is an essential branch of that Parliament: no Act can, in law, be valid, without the King's assent: but the King, by the act of God, was rendered incapable of attending to any business, public or private. What then was to be done? Mr. Fox, in the zeal of his friendship for the Prince of Wales, made an assertion which was equally repugnant to the common law of England, and to the democratic principles of the Whigs:—he stated, that, "in his firm opinion, his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, *had as clear, as express a right to assume the reins of government, and*

exercise the powers of sovereignty during the continuance of the King's illness and incapacity with which it had pleased God to afflict his Majesty, as in the case of his Majesty having undergone a natural and perfect demise." * Mr. Pitt opposed this courtly doctrine; he defied all Mr. Fox's ingenuity to support it, upon any analogy of constitutional precedent, or to reconcile it to the spirit and genius of the Constitution itself; and he laid down what seems to be the correct principle. "He maintained that it would appear from every precedent, and from every page of our history, that to assert such a *right* in the Prince of Wales, or any one else, independent of the decision of the two Houses of Parliament, was little less than *treason to the constitution of the country*. He pledged himself to this assertion, that in case of the interruption of the personal exercise of the royal authority, without any previous lawful provision having been made for carrying on the Government, it belonged to the other branches of the legislature, on the part of the nation at large—the body they represented—to provide, according to their discretion, for the temporary exercise of the royal authority, in the name and on the behalf of the Sovereign, in such a manner as they should think requisite; and that, unless by their decision, the Prince of Wales had no more right (speaking of strict *right*) than any other individual subject of the country." Lord Mornington coincided in opinion with Mr. Pitt; and there can be no doubt that their view of the case was both the most correct and the most popular one. But how were the legal objections to be met? How meet the

* Parl. Hist. 1788.

temporary evils, without wounding the constitution? *Necessitas non habet legem;* * and here was an irresistible necessity: still the difficulty remained, how was the solemnity of an act of the legislature to be imparted to a bill, without the assent of the Crown? The Attorney-General, Sir Archibald Macdonald, appears to have suggested the only imaginable way of meeting the exigency: "He wished the distinction between the politic or official capacity of the Crown, and the natural and human capacity of the person of the King, might ever be kept separate; for upon that distinction depended the rectitude of their proceedings." The Solicitor-General, Sir John Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon), following up the same remark, observed, in the course of one of the debates: "The throne was as yet full of the monarch, and no man dared to say that his Majesty was deficient in his political capacity." As in cases of the tender infancy of the Sovereign, the expression of the King's will, by his great seal, had in former times been directed by his Privy Council; it was at length determined upon by both Houses, that the Lord Chancellor should affix the great seal to a bill, creating the Prince of Wales, Regent with limited powers.†

In 1789 the Earl of Mornington took a conspicuous part in the memorable debates in the Irish House of Lords, on the Regency Question—which arose in Ireland in a still more complicated and embarrassing form. In that year, in consequence of the continued indispo-

* Noy.

† Lord Mornington voted in favour of Mr. Pitt's resolutions limiting the powers of the Regent.

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sition of King George III., the Marquess of Buckingham, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, made the following communication to the Houses of Parliament at Dublin :—

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"With the deepest concern I find myself obliged, on opening the present session of Parliament, to communicate to you the painful information, that his Majesty has been for some time afflicted by a severe malady ; in consequence of which he has not honoured me with his commands upon the measures to be recommended to his Parliament. I have directed such documents as I have received respecting his Majesty's health, to be laid before you : I shall also communicate to you, so soon as I shall be enabled, such further information as may assist your deliberations on that melancholy subject."

Both the Irish Houses at once voted an address to his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, constituting the Prince, Regent of the kingdom of Ireland *with unlimited powers ;* while the Parliament of Great Britain had imposed several limitations upon the powers vested in his Royal Highness. "We have, however," said the Irish Parliament, "the consolation of reflecting that this severe calamity hath not been visited upon us until the virtues of your Royal Highness have been so matured as to enable your Royal Highness to discharge the duties of an important trust, for the performance whereof the eyes of all his Majesty's subjects are directed to your Royal Highness. *We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your*

Royal Highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and, under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and Constitution of this kingdom, ALL REGAL POWERS, JURISDICTIONS, AND PREROGATIVES TO THE CROWN AND GOVERNMENT BELONGING." Lord Mornington opposed and protested against the subservient adulation and unconstitutional character of this address. The Parliament of Great Britain had, with becoming regard for the dignity of the Crown, and the safety of the Constitution, resolved, "that it is expedient that his Royal Highness shall be empowered to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of Government, and administration of the same, which belong to the King of this realm, to use, execute, and perform, according to the laws thereof, *subject to the limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.*" In England the Regent had no power to grant any rank or dignity of the peerage, or to grant any office in reversion, or any office, pension, or salary, for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure; or to grant any part of the King's real or personal estate. Beside, the care of the King's person was specially committed, during the regency, to the Queen, who was vested with power to remove any of the household. In Ireland the Regent was invested with COMPLETE SOVEREIGNTY. The collision between the Parliaments of the two countries, on this occasion, (which, but for the happy recovery of

King George III., might have been attended with serious consequences,) was one of the events which led to the act of Union ; by which the British Isles were incorporated inseparably into one kingdom : Ireland being in 1800 united to Great Britain, as Wales was united to England in the reign of Henry VIII., and as Scotland was in the reign of Anne. Lord Mornington at once saw the danger which was likely to arise to the peace of the empire, by a conflict between the two Legislatures on the subject of the regency : and he probably asked himself the question, if the Irish Parliament had a right to act independently of the British Parliament, and confer unlimited powers on the individual in whom the English people would not confide them, had not the Irish Parliament a right to select a *totally different person* as Regent, from the individual chosen by the Parliament of Great Britain ? Lord Mornington was one of the twenty-three Irish peers who entered the following protest against the address to the Prince of Wales :—

" Dissentient : 1st. Because the address in question to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, is an address requesting that he will be pleased to take upon him the government of this realm, in such manner as is therein mentioned ; and to exercise and administer, according to the laws and Constitution of this kingdom, all royal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the Crown and Government thereof belonging, without any law or authority whatsoever, that we know of, authorizing him so to do. 2ndly. Because we are apprehensive that the said address may be construed to be a measure tending to disturb and

weaken that great constitutional Union, whereby, as fully declared, and enacted, and specified in sundry acts of Parliament in this kingdom, this realm of Ireland is for ever united and knit to the imperial Crown of England, and as a member appending and rightfully belonging thereto. 3rdly. Because, although in every sentiment of duty, affection, and respect toward his Royal Highness, we hold ourselves equal to, and will not be exceeded by, any of those who join in the said address, or by any other person whatsoever; and are, and ever shall be, ready to lay down our lives and fortunes in the support and maintenance of the just rights of our most gracious Sovereign, and of every branch of his royal and august family; we cannot pay any compliment to his Royal Highness, or to any one, at the expense of what we consider as great constitutional principles; and we cannot (for such are the workings of duty, affection, and respect in our breasts) join in the said address; which may, as we are apprehensive, bring difficulty and embarrassment upon his Royal Highness, already too much oppressed by the great calamity which hath befallen our most gracious Sovereign, his royal father."

The Marquess of Buckingham, the Lord-Lieutenant, declined to transmit the addresses of the two Houses to England; and, on a calm review of the legal and constitutional points involved in this important discussion, it seems to be impossible to doubt that his Excellency acted strictly according to law. His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant's reply to the upper and lower houses of the Irish Parliament was as follows:—

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"Under the impression which I feel of my official duty, and of the oath which I have taken, as chief Governor of Ireland, I am obliged to decline transmitting this address into Great Britain. For I cannot consider myself warranted to lay before the Prince of Wales an address purporting to invest his Royal Highness with powers to take upon him the government of this realm, before he shall be enabled by law to do so." *

The transaction now became more complicated. Not only were the Parliaments of two countries (inseparably united to the same Crown) at issue, but the House of Lords and House of Commons in Ireland were directly at variance with the Viceroy! The Houses agreed to resolutions declaring their right to

* The office of Regent is one unknown to the common law: and perhaps the only mode of appointing a Regent free from objections and legal difficulties, is by the authority of a prospective Act of Parliament, duly enacted by the Lords Temporal and Spiritual, the Commons, and the Crown. The Earl of Pembroke, by his own authority, assumed the Regency of Henry III. when that King was but nine years old. A guardian and Council of Regency was named for Edward III. by the Parliament which deposed his father. On the accession of Richard II., in his eleventh year, the Duke of Lancaster took upon him the management of the kingdom till Parliament met, which appointed a nominal council to assist him. Henry V., on his death-bed, named a Regent and a guardian for his infant son Henry VI., then nine months old: but the Parliament altered his disposition, and appointed a Protector and Council with a special united authority. Edward V., at the age of thirteen, was, on the recommendation of his father and the authority of the Privy Council, placed under the protectorate of the Duke of Gloucester. By two statutes passed in the reign of Henry VIII., it was provided that his successor, if a male and under eighteen, or if a female and under sixteen, should be till such age in the government of his or her natural mother (if approved by the King) and such other counsellors

appoint a Prince Regent, and passed a vote of *censure* on the representative of the Crown! Lord Mornington, who, as a Privy Councillor, and one of the Lords of the English Treasury, exercised much influence in the counsels of the Lord-Lieutenant, vigorously supported the Marquess of Buckingham. His Lordship, together with twenty-four other peers, entered protests against the resolutions of the majority. The protest against the resolutions, voted February 1789, asserting the right of both Irish Houses to declare a Prince Regent, was as follows:

"Because the undoubted right, and the indispensable duty, declared in the said resolution to have been exercised and discharged by the Lords and Commons of Ireland, and to which it is alleged they alone are competent, do not, in any legal or sound sense, appear to us to have any existence. And because the assum-

as his Majesty should appoint: he accordingly in virtue of those enactments, entrusted his son Edward VI. to his sixteen executors, who elected the Earl of Hertford Protector. The statute 24 Geo. II. c. 24, in case the Crown should descend to any of the children of Frederick, late Prince of Wales, under the age of eighteen, appointed the Princess Dowager Regent; and that, 5 Geo. III. c. 27, in case of a like descent to any of his Majesty's children, empowered the King to appoint a guardian and Regent to be assisted by a Council of Regency; the powers of them all being expressly defined by several acts. By 1 Wm. IV. c. 2, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent was appointed the guardian of her daughter (her present most gracious Majesty) until she attained the age of eighteen years; and it was also provided that the Duchess should be Regent in case of the descent of the Crown during the Queen's minority—an event which, it need scarcely be remarked, did not take place. By 3 and 4 Vict. c. 52, his Royal Highness Prince Albert the Queen's august consort, is constituted guardian of any issue of Queen Victoria becoming King or Queen of these realms under the age of eighteen years, subject to various provisos. — Vide *Chitty's Blackstone's Com. by Hargrave.*

ing a right in the Lords and Commons alone to confer upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the Government of this kingdom, under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, to exercise and administer according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom all regal powers and prerogatives to the Crown and Government thereof belonging, or the addressing his Royal Highness to take upon himself such government in manner aforesaid, before he be enabled by law to do so, seems altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous in its tendency to disturb and break the constitutional Union whereby this realm of Ireland is for ever knit and united to the Imperial Crown of England; on which connection the happiness of both kingdoms essentially depends;* and we are the more apprehensive of the danger, lest the doing so should be considered as tending to the prejudice, disturbance, or derogation of the King's Majesty, in, of, or for the Crown of this realm of Ireland."

The happy recovery of King George III. solved the question, and averted the dangers of the threatened collision. From this time the Earl of Mornington was admitted more closely into the confidence of the King, who expressed his warm approbation of the young statesman's conduct in the painful emergency which gave rise to these discussions; intimating his Majesty's displeasure against those who had supported the anta-

* The King of England, *de facto*, being the King of Ireland *de jure*—Ireland necessarily appending and rightfully belonging to the English Crown—the local legislature of Ireland was clearly incompetent to invest a Regent with powers which the Parliament of Great Britain had withheld from him.

gonist pretensions of the Prince of Wales by the dismissal of the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquess of Lothian, and Lords Carteret and Malmesbury. In the year following Lord Mornington was re-elected as representative in Parliament for the borough of Windsor.

* Before the year A. D. 1690, the chartered corporation of Windsor usurped the exclusive right of voting in the election of members of Parliament; but it was afterwards extended to all inhabitants paying scot and lot. The greatest number of electors polled at any election in Windsor, during the thirty years before the passing of the Reform Act, was 363: in the years 1839-40, the number of parliamentary electors was 667.

CHAPTER III.

Supports Mr. Wilberforce on the Slave Trade.—Opposes Mr. Dundas's Resolution for gradual Abolition.—Moves an Amendment for its immediate Suppression—is defeated.—Moves a second Amendment.—Denounces the traffic as infamous, bloody, and disgraceful to human nature.—The Amendment supported by Mr. Pitt—defeated.—Clarkson's Labours.—Vote of the House of Commons against the Slave Trade.—Lord Mornington opposes Mr. Grey's motion for Reform in Parliament, both in Spirit and Substance.—Examination of his Arguments.—Fallacy that Reform was synonymous with American Democracy or French Republicanism.—Eulogies on the general Spirit of the British Constitution.—Mr. Fox replies—ridicules Lord Mornington's Positions.—Boroughs and great Towns then unrepresented.—Saltash, Beeralston, &c. compared with them.—Changes since effected by Parliament.—Marquess Wellesley Member of the Reform Government.—1793, sworn a Member of the English Privy Council.—Appointed Commissioner for Affairs of India.—Devotes his attention to the posture of the British Government and native Powers in India.—Confidence reposed in him by Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Wilberforce was strenuously supported, in 1792, by the Earl of Mornington, in his noble efforts to extinguish the Slave Trade. His Lordship vigorously opposed the resolutions of Mr. Dundas for the *gradual* abolition* of the inhuman traffic. He contended that the British Parliament had an undoubted right to abolish the trade, notwithstanding any previous sanc-

* One of Mr. Dundas's resolutions was, "That from Oct. 10, 1797, *duties* be laid on every male negro [imported] according to his stature, from five pounds to fifteen pounds."

tion* which it might be supposed to have given.† The utility of a continuation of this inhuman commerce to the real welfare of our islands he positively denied: and conceiving the point at issue to be, in fact, a question of principle and feeling, he disdained to reason on the policy of the measure. On the 25th of April Lord Mornington moved an amendment, that the Slave Trade should end on the 1st of January 1793; the amendment was lost by a majority of 49; the numbers on the division having been, *yeas* 109; *noes* 158. On the 27th of April, the House having again resolved itself into committee on Mr. Dundas's resolution, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that it shall not be lawful to import any African Negroes into any of the British colonies or plantations in ships owned or navigated by British subjects, at any time after the 1st day of January 1800," Lord Mornington then moved another amendment with a view to a more immediate abolition of the Slave Trade.

The noble Lord "lamented the fate of his former motion for a speedy termination of the trade which had been already condemned as criminal, inasmuch as it was repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity. Had he followed his feelings, he should have proposed for the total abolition of this hateful traffic

* "It has the authority of Acts of Parliament passed in this country, as well as colonial laws, which recognise, if they do not confirm it, and the sanction of ancient and universal custom." — *Apology for Negro Slavery*, 1786.

† According to the law in this country even during the permitted existence of the Slave Trade, a negro slave became, on the moment of touching the British soil, a free man.—Vide Salkeld, 666; and the case of the negro *Somerset*; State Trials, xx. 79.

the 2nd day of January 1793, immediately after the House had determined by a majority that it should not be so on the 1st day of January 1793. He was sorry that so infamous, so bloody a traffic should exist for one hour. Upon the justice of it nothing could be said; upon the humanity of it nothing could be said. Being destitute of principle, being hated by all good men, and, as far as regarded its justice or humanity, abandoned by its own advocates, what could be said on the subject? But lest it should be thought that he was persevering in a cause which, though good, was not likely to succeed to his wishes, he was willing to concede something to the opinions of those who differed with him, and move for a more remote period than 1793 for the abolition of a trade which he loathed and detested. He thought in his conscience that it ought not to last one hour longer; but as he could not get the committee to think with him on this subject, he must give up his own opinion to a certain degree; and as he could not do all the good he wished, he would do all that he could. Gentlemen had said in a former debate, that time should be allowed to the planters to cool, and to discover the truth of the assertions of those who contended that the abolition would ultimately be for their advantage. What length of time it would require to cool them, and for truth to make its way among the planters, while the liberty and happiness of thousands were exposed to invasion during the tedious process, it was impossible for him to say. If he were to put the question mathematically, he would say, '*The force of truth being given, and the hardness of a planter's heart*

being ascertained, in what space of time will the former be able to penetrate the latter? For his part, he was free to say that he had known great numbers of planters of the clearest heads, and most quick and lively conceptions; and he believed they were, in general, persons who would not be the last to discover the truth of a proposition. On this occasion, however, he meant to allow them two years; and he would ask whether (if all that was wanted was to convince the planters that the abolition would not injure them) two years would not do as well as seven? He believed the committee would be of opinion, that the time proposed for the purpose of convincing their judgment was much too long; for that, in point of fact, they were convinced already; and it was nothing but mean and sordid avarice that induced them to wish for the continuance of this abominable, infamous, bloody traffic—this commerce in human flesh—this spilling of human blood—this sacrifice of human right—this insolence to justice—this outrage to humanity—this disgrace to human nature! Private follies from habit had sometimes been excused by the charitable; they affected chiefly those who displayed them; they were objects of compassion to some, and from the most severe they met nothing but ridicule: but for crimes, and those of the most public, notorious, hateful, detested nature, nothing could be said as an excuse or palliative. Every hour that this nefarious traffic was allowed to be continued was a disgrace to Great Britain."

Mr. Pitt supported his friend on this occasion. He urged the committee to adopt Lord Mornington's resolution, "That the Slave Trade do cease from the first of

January, 1795."—"I feel," said Mr. Pitt, "the infamy of the trade so heavily, the impolicy of it so clearly, that I am ashamed I have not been able to convince the House to abandon it altogether at an instant—to pronounce, with one voice, the immediate and total abolition. There is no excuse for us, seeing this infernal traffic as we do. It is the very death of justice to utter a syllable in support of it!" Yet the eloquence of these two great men, which must have made the hearts of the man-stealers quail within them, could do no more than induce the committee to adopt the year 1796 as the time for the abolition of the legalized commerce in the human species.*

In the following year we find Lord Mornington, with more questionable judgment, opposing Mr. Grey's motion for a reform in Parliament. On the 7th of May, 1793, his Lordship addressed the House of Commons "against the whole spirit and substance" of the proposition submitted by Mr. Grey. The purpose of those who supported the measure then the subject of debate, said his Lordship, "was to change, not the administration only, but the very genius and spirit of the British Government; to separate those elementary principles of monarchy, of aristocracy, and of democracy, which are now mixed and blended in the

* In looking back to the history of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, it is impossible not to revert with a feeling of admiration to the early labours of that venerable and distinguished advocate of the rights of human nature, THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq., Playford Hall, Suffolk, who still lives in honoured old age to witness the fruit of that great harvest for which he broke up and tilled the ground, by his celebrated prize essay at Cambridge University, *On the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*, and his subsequent publications.

frame of this House, and, by combining them again according to some new and different rule of proportion, to create a system of which we at present know nothing more than that it is to be new in its texture, and wholly different in its effects, upon the existing order of our happy constitution. A project so stated, and of such extent, has not been agitated in Parliament during the present century; and it is a duty which we all owe to the present and succeeding times, to pause and to deliberate with the utmost caution before we consent even to take the first step towards a measure of such powerful effect, and of such lasting consequences. Before we part with those foundations on which the Government has been so long settled, it becomes us to recollect what that is which we are about to destroy, and to ascertain, as far as human foresight can enable us, what is likely to be substituted in its place."

Lord Mornington eulogized enthusiastically, some perhaps will think extravagantly, considering the circumstances under which his Lordship spoke, the British Constitution; and dwelt with great force upon the admitted excellences of the body of our municipal laws. "Never," said he, "under any distribution of political power of which the memory has reached us, or of which we now see the operation, have the true ends of society been so effectually accomplished, or so long preserved, as under that Government which it is the professed design of this motion to change. Under that Government the life of every individual is secured by the mild and equal spirit of the law; by the pure administration of justice; by the admirable institution

of juries; and by the gracious and equitable exercise of that prerogative which is the brightest ornament of the British Crown—the power of mitigating the rigour of criminal judgments, and of causing law and justice to be executed in mercy. Under that Government the liberty of the subject is established on the same foundations, and protected by the same safeguards, which maintain the whole system of order in the State; it is a temperate and rational liberty, inseparably connected with all the most sacred duties of society; and while it adds new force to every civil, every moral, and every religious obligation, it derives from them its most powerful activity and its most substantial strength. Resting on such foundations, and united with all the virtues and with all the genuine interests both of the Monarch and the people, it has long remained inviolate; and it seems to contain every principle of stability which can enter into the frame of any human institution; for it can neither be abused by the subject nor invaded by the Crown, without equal hazard to the safety of both; without endangering some fundamental principle of private tranquillity and domestic comfort on the one hand, or without disturbing the harmony and impairing the vigour of the monarchy on the other."

Lord Mornington, in opposing Mr. Grey's motion, pressed upon his hearers the inestimable advantages which every subject of this realm enjoyed—the safety of his *life*, his *liberty*, and his *property*;—and seemed to hint that the adoption of Mr. Grey's measure might possibly place these blessings in jeopardy: "Whatever might be contended to be the defective state of the representation in theory, it is an undeniable fact,

proved by daily and almost hourly experience, that there is no interest in the kingdom, however inconsiderable, which does not find some advocate in the House of Commons to recommend it to the attention of the Legislature. From the same sources are necessarily derived the wealth, the power, and the splendour of the empire: it is the sense of safety, it is the confidence reposed in the protection of the Government, which have encouraged the subject to adventure the fruits of his industry and skill in those enterprises of agriculture, of commerce, and of manufactures, which, in the various stages of their progress, contribute equally to the profit of individuals and the prosperity of the State. From the united effects of all these circumstances, the collective interests of the empire have been in a progressive state of improvement ever since the period of the Revolution." After alluding to the depression which followed the American war, his Lordship added, "thus, with all the imperfections and irregularities of this reprobated frame of Parliament, the nation has risen from the lowest state of humiliation and adversity—

> 'More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
> And trusts herself to fear no second fate.'"

Lord Mornington, after dwelling with much force on this branch of the question, painted in strong colours the blood-stained government of revolutionary France: "Although questions of great magnitude and importance have engaged the attention of the House since the affairs of France have been the immediate subject of deliberation, the Hon. Gentleman will find that a topic

leading to such serious reflections, and furnishing such useful lessons, has not been so soon effaced from the memory of this House or of the country: the business of this day must revive every passage of those transactions with the most direct and forcible application to the present question. It will be pressed home to the recollection and to the feeling of every British subject, that a change in the existing Government (the avowed object of this motion), was the great revolutionary machine, by the working of which our enemies trusted to have reduced this happy people to the level of their own miserable condition. 'Commemoratio illius sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta, dum genus humanum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit, (quod quidem erit, si per illos licuerit, sempiternum), illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur.'"

Mr. Fox, in his reply, contended that the sovereign remedy for the discontents of the people was Representation. Alluding to its effects in former times, in the cases of Wales, Chester, and Durham, he remarked—"When the day-star of the English Constitution had arisen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without"—

> "—Simul alba nautis
> Stella refulsit,
> Defluit saxis agitatus humor;
> Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
> Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto
> Unda recumbit."

Mr. Fox, turning to Lord Mornington's argument, said: "the Noble Lord had discovered that Rousseau, in his Social Compact, had said a very extravagant thing! He was not very well qualified to judge, for he had

found the beginning of the Social Compact so extravagant that he could not read it through, but he believed it was one of the most extravagant of that author's works. He did not mean to say that the Noble Lord had produced an extravagant saying from Rousseau as a novelty; but it was somewhat remarkable, that an extravagant thing from the most extravagant work of an extravagant foreign author, should be produced as an argument against a reform in the representation of the people of Great Britain." In answer to those who contended that that was not the right *time* to enter on an inquiry into the state of the representation, Mr. Fox quoted, with much effect, the poet's raillery on some noble Earl—

> " Let that be wrought which Mat doth say:
> Yea, quoth the Erle, but not to-day."

In these days, when the principles resisted by the Earl of Mornington in 1793 are the established law of the land,* when the changes then denounced as pregnant with danger to the constitution have been formally adopted by the Legislature, without producing any of the consequences that it was supposed would follow from them, it is difficult to conceive how any intelligent, unbiassed person could have concealed from himself the necessity of the proposed reform in the representation of the country—the desirableness of which had been pointed out by the great constitutional authority Mr. Justice Blackstone.† The Earl of Mornington, in 1793, witnessed with concern and alarm the giant strides of democracy in neighbouring states, and recoiled, naturally enough, from the wild

* 2 and 3 Wm. IV. c. 45. † Com. vol. I. chap. II.

projects of the designing knaves and mischievous enthusiasts,—who mix themselves up with every important movement: but on what principle could Lord Mornington defend the system that gave to Beeralston —the population of which "borough" had arrived at the vanishing point in 1832—the power of sending members to Parliament, while Manchester, with all its wealth, population, and energetic industry—with its 100,000 souls—had not the power of electing a member?* The fallacy of his Lordship's argument consisted in this, that the adoption of Mr. Grey's proposal

* The following is a list of the great towns which were *unrepresented* in Parliament when Lord Mornington[a] opposed Mr. Grey's motion, and which were empowered by 2 and 3 Wm. IV. c. 45, to return Members:—

NEW BOROUGHS TO RETURN TWO MEMBERS TO PARLIAMENT.

	Population.		*Population.*
Manchester	187,022	Lambeth	203,329
Birmingham	142,251	Bolton	41,195
Leeds	123,323	Bradford	23,233
Greenwich	62,009	Blackburn	27,091
Sheffield	90,657	Brighton	40,684
Sunderland	43,078	Halifax	15,382
Devonport	44,454	Macclesfield	23,129
Wolverhampton	67,414	Oldham	50,513
Tower Hamlets	359,820	Stockport	25,469
Finsbury	244,077	Stoke-upon-Trent	52,946
Marylebone	240,294	Stroud	13,721

[a] The population of Saltash, for which Lord Mornington had been returned, was three thousand and twenty-nine: Beeralston, for which his Lordship previously sat, was, according to the parliamentary returns, a perfect blank. The whole of the fifty-six disfranchised boroughs were decayed, insignificant places; the right to nominate members for which was considered the private property of certain great individuals! Yet it was the theory of the constitution "that all elections of Members of Parliament ought to be free—to be made with an entire liberty—without any sort of force, OR THE REQUIRING THE ELECTORS TO CHOOSE SUCH PERSONS AS SHALL BE NAMED TO THEM."

for a constitutional reform in Parliament—or a restitution of rights recognized in the ancient laws of the country—involved the reception of the wild theories and profligate maxims of J. J. Rousseau, and the virtual establishment of the ultra-democratic doctrines and godless system of Thomas Paine. It must be admitted, that the political changes in progress in Europe when his Lordship came forward as the opponent of Mr. Grey's measure of Reform were calculated to excite alarm, even in the breast of the most enthusiastic reformer; but the evils which had fallen on neighbouring nations ought to have served as a warning to the British Legislature, to apply a timely remedy to notorious evils, and not to trifle with popular discontent till it had been inflamed into settled rancour, eager for an opportunity of vengeance and deliverance! The Earl of Mornington lived to see the groundlessness of the apprehensions which he entertained in 1793; and by a singular coincidence was, as Marquess Wellesley, a member of the Government which, in 1832, under the guidance of his old opponent, then Earl

NEW BOROUGHS TO RETURN ONE MEMBER TO PARLIAMENT.

	Population.		*Population.*
Ashton-under-Lyne	33,597	Salford	50,810
Bury	15,086	South Shields	18,756
Chatham	19,000	Tynemouth	16,926
Cheltenham	22,942	Wakefield	12,232
Dudley	23,043	Walsall	15,060
Frome	12,270	Warrington	16,018
Gateshead	15,177	Whitby	10,399
Huddersfield	31,041	Whitehaven	17,808
Kidderminster	14,981	Merthyr Tydvil	30,000
Kendal	11,265		
Rochdale	25,764		

Grey, carried the Reform Bill.* His Lordship's speech, however, to which we have referred, was calculated to exalt him in the estimation of both the King and his Lordship's colleagues; and accordingly we find that soon afterwards, 21st June 1793, he was sworn a member of the English Privy Council; and was appointed a Commissioner for the affairs of India,—an office which was peculiarly adapted to prepare him for the efficient discharge of the high duties which afterwards devolved upon him as Governor General of India.

Mr. Pitt's Bill of 1784 appointed six Privy Councillors to be Commissioners for the affairs of India; of whom, one of the Secretaries of State for the time being was President. These Commissioners, who were appointed by his Majesty, and removable at his pleasure, were vested with a control and superintendence over all civil, military, and revenue officers of the East India Company; and the Directors of that corporation were obliged to lay before them all papers relative to the management of their possessions; and to obey all orders which they received from them, on points connected with their civil or military government, or the revenues of their territories. The Commissioners were obliged to return the copies of papers which they received from the Directors in fourteen days, with their approbation, or to state at large their reasons for disapproving of them; and their dispatches, so approved or amended, were to be sent to India, unless the Commissioners should attend to any represen-

* The Marquess Wellesley was Lord Steward in Earl Grey's Ministry, 22nd Nov. 1830.

tations of the Court of Directors, respecting further alterations in them.

Lord Mornington applied himself with his characteristic diligence to a thorough study of the various interests of our Indian empire; and obtained a masterly and comprehensive knowledge of the relations of the several states to the British Government, as well as the power, resources, and position of the several parties in the Peninsula. He acquainted himself, as far as possible, with the details of every fact bearing upon the commerce, the government, and the laws of the country; and with the instinctive sagacity of great genius, pondered upon the future destiny and the possible exigencies of Hindostan. It has been already mentioned, that the first subject on which Lord Mornington spoke in the British House of Commons was that of India. He appears to have directed his attention to it from the beginning of his career in the English Parliament; and very probably regarded the post of Commissioner for the affairs of India as a stepping-stone to the splendid appointment of Governor-General. The nomination of Lord Mornington to the Board of Control at this period when the public mind was so much excited by the discussions in Parliament on the India Bills, shows the confidence which Mr. Pitt and the Government reposed in the judgment and discretion of that nobleman, then in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

CHAPTER IV.

The War with France.—Difficulty of deciding whether War might honourably have been avoided, or not.—The right of the French to depose the Power that violated their fundamental Laws and the Principles of Natural Justice.—The French originally justified in their Proceedings.—Events become complicated, and the question in relation to Great Britain altered.—Palliating circumstances of the French Revolution considered.—Publications of Burke, Macintosh, and Erskine.—Death of Louis XVI.—The French Ambassador required to quit the Kingdom.—Message from the King to Parliament to augment the Forces.—In ten days afterwards the fact of War communicated to both Houses.—Opening of Parliament, January 1794.—Address to the Crown on the War.—Lord Mornington's great Speech, reviewing the Revolution, exhibiting its progress, and tracing the Revolutionary Government step by step, holding up to reprobation all the atrocities, blasphemies, violence, perfidy, and cruelty that were enacted in France; pointing out the spirit of aggression and wanton violation of the Laws of Nations that animated the French, and urging upon the Parliament, by every consideration that could be supposed to influence Englishmen, to support the Crown in carrying on with becoming energy this just and necessary War.—Effect of the Speech on the House.—Mr. Sheridan's brilliant reply to Lord Mornington.—Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Dundas defend Lord Mornington.—Mr. Fox criticises his Lordship's Speech.—Mr. Pitt warmly eulogises it.—The effects of the French Revolution on the mind of Europe considered.

That the war with France in 1793 might have been delayed, or in some way avoided, few will now be disposed to question; but whether, under all the circumstances, it could have been evaded without compromising the monarchical principle in Europe, without

danger to the permanent, political, and commercial interests of Great Britain, and without the injury to the constitution of this kingdom, which would probably have followed from a fraternizing with French atheism and democracy, it is more difficult to decide. That the French had a right to reform or remodel their constitution, no Englishman could deny, without reproaching his ancestors, who had declared that King Richard the Second had broken the original contract between the Sovereign and people, violated the fundamental laws of this realm, and by misgovernment forfeited the Crown; and who then, by the authority of Parliament, conferred that Crown, with multiplied legal solemnities, on Bolingbroke, afterwards King Henry the Fourth. That the French were fully justified in holding an inquisition on the Government that had flagrantly abused the power which it possessed, by gross and grievous oppressions, and had subverted the fundamental laws of France, it is impossible to doubt with the great precedent of 1688, sanctioning and confirming the principle laid down by the English Parliament in 1399, before us, declaring the throne vacant, and summoning thereunto William Prince of Orange and his wife Mary. If the French were justified, according to the principles of natural justice and the law of nations, in proceeding to re-adjust their Government, it is quite obvious that the coalition of the Kings of Europe in 1792, for the purpose of invading the frontiers of France, and constraining her inhabitants to alter the form of government they had chosen, was utterly indefensible. That coalition was both a crime and a blunder—an act of imbecility and

folly, and a daring infringement of the *jus gentium*. To it may be traced much of the savage phrenzy, the terrible atrocities, and the unspeakable villany that were developed in the later stages of the French revolution. Much was said of French propagandism: but what evoked that fell spirit? Those who based the justification of the war with France upon the aggressions which the French committed, might have recollected that the Anti-Gallican coalition had provoked those aggressions, and that in the month of July 1792, the following important proposition was submitted to Great Britain by the Government of France:

"The steps taken by the cabinet of Vienna amongst the different Powers, and principally amongst the Allies of his Britannic Majesty, in order to engage them in a quarrel which is foreign to them, are known to all Europe. If public report even were to be credited, its successes at the Court of Berlin prepare the way for others in the United Provinces; the threats held out to the different members of the Germanic party to make them deviate from that wise neutrality which their political situation and their dearest interests prescribe to them; the arrangements taken with the different sovereigns of Italy to determine them to act hostilely against France; and, lastly, the intrigues by which Russia has been induced to arm against the constitution of Poland; everything points out fresh marks of a vast conspiracy against free states, which seems to threaten to precipitate Europe in universal war. The consequences of such a confederacy, formed by the concurrence of powers who have been so long rivals, will be easily felt by his Britannic

Majesty; the balance of Europe, the independence of the different Powers, the general peace, every consideration which at all times has fixed the attention of the English Government, is at once exposed and threatened. The King of the French presents these serious and important considerations to the solicitude and to the friendship of his Britannic Majesty. Strongly penetrated with the marks of interest and affection which he has received from him, *he invites him to seek, in his wisdom, in his situation, and in his influence, means compatible with the independence of the French nation*, to stop, while it is still time, the progress of that confederacy which equally threatens the peace, the liberty, the happiness of Europe; and above all, to dissuade from all accession to this project, those of his Allies whom it may be wished to draw into it, or who may have been already drawn into it, from fear, seduction, and different pretexts of the falsest as well of the most odious policy." His Britannic Majesty declined the proposed mediation, observing, "the same sentiments *which have determined him not to take a part in the internal affairs of France*, ought equally to induce him to respect the rights and independence of other sovereigns, and especially his Allies."

There was something so exasperating in the idea of foreign intervention; something so repugnant to the feelings of a brave people, in an attempt to overawe and coerce them on the part of foreign Potentates, that we can scarcely wonder at the tremendous energy with which the whole French population rose in resistance to the coalition of Kings, nor be surprised at the mad excesses committed by men who had been goaded into

hostilities with all Europe, and compelled to assume the offensive in order to preserve their own existence.

But, in estimating the part taken by the Earl of Mornington at this unparalleled crisis, it is not enough to look at the circumstances which tend to palliate the atrocities of the excited populace of France. The question is, was the war, which has entailed upon Great Britain and Ireland an enormous debt, and which cost this kingdom some of its best blood, necessary and justifiable? In this great controversy, in which Burke, Mackintosh, and Erskine were the literary combatants,* and in which Mornington, Pitt, Fox,

* See *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, p. 51; and a *Regicide Peace*, by the Right Hon. Edmund Burke.

Vindiciæ Gallicæ, by James Mackintosh, of Lincoln's Inn, Esquire.

Observations on the War with France, by the Hon. Thomas Erskine.

"The French Revolution," observes Mr. Thomas Moore, in speaking of the first of these remarkable publications, "still continued, by its comet-like course to dazzle, alarm, and disturb all Europe. Mr. Burke had published his celebrated 'Reflections' in the month of Nov. 1790, and never did any work, with the exception perhaps of the 'Eikon Basilike,' produce such a rapid, deep, and general sensation. The Eikon was the book of a king, and this might in another sense be called the book of kings! Not only in England, but throughout all Europe—in every part of which monarchy was now trembling for its existence—this lofty appeal to loyalty was heard and welcomed. Its effect upon the already tottering Whig party, was like that of 'the voice' in the ruins of Rome's 'departing towers.' The whole fabric of the old Rockingham confederacy shook to its base. Even some, who afterwards recovered their equilibrium, at first yielded to the eloquence of this extraordinary book, which, like the era of chivalry, whose loss it deplores, mixes a grandeur with error, and throws a charm round political superstition, that will long render its pages a sort of region of royal romance to which fancy will have recourse for illusions that have lost their last hold on the reason." Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine, in alluding to the same work, says, "differing wholly from Mr. Burke, and lamenting the consequences of his late writings, I always think of the works and of the author in this kind of temper. Indeed, when I look into my own mind I

Sheridan, and the other "chiefs of the eloquent war," exerted the whole power of their Parliamentary rhetoric, it becomes us to speak with great diffidence. Originally France had justice on her side; she had unquestionably the right which, according to law of nature and nations, every independent state hath and must have, to regulate her own internal affairs. And not only was France originally in the right, (viewing the matter in relation to foreign countries,) but the confederacy of the Allies was clearly in the wrong. The proclamations of the Duke of Brunswick were violations of international law; the fact that certain German Princes were the proprietors of property in Alsace, could afford no justification to an invasion for the purpose of maintaining feudal rights by the means of a foreign force, in opposition to the national will, as declared in the legislature. We may go further, and assert the general expediency and necessity of *a* revolution in the government of France; and admit that a heavy responsibility rested upon those emigrant nobles and clergy who, instead of remaining at home, as the bulk of the English nobility did during the usurpation of Cromwell, to moderate and assuage the

find its best lights and principles fed from that immense magazine of moral and political wisdom which he has left as an inheritance to mankind for their instruction, I feel myself repelled by an awful and grateful sensibility from petulantly approaching him." Mackintosh pays a similar tribute to the genius of his great antagonist: "Argument everywhere dexterous and specious, sometimes grave and profound, clothed in the most rich and various imagery, and aided by the most pathetic and picturesque description, speaks the opulence and the powers of that mind of which age has neither dimmed the descernment nor enfeebled the fancy, neither repressed the ardour, nor narrowed the range." —*Vindiciæ Gallicæ.*

feelings of the people, basely deserted the post of danger and of duty;—filling Europe with their lamentations, and inviting foreigners to invade their native land, and by force of arms restore the ancient tyranny which the French nation had discarded. So far we can go with the opponents of the war.* But when we

* The feelings of a great portion of the English people with reference to the French Revolution on its first outbreak, and the revulsion which followed, is well expressed in the following fine stanzas of Coleridge:

"When France in wrath her giant limbs upreared,
And with that oath, which smote air, earth, and sea,
Stamped her strong foot and said she would be free,
Bear witness for me, how I hoped and feared!
With what a joy my lofty gratulation
Unawed I sang, amid a slavish band:
And when to whelm the disenchanted nation,
Like fiends embattled by a wizard's wand
The monarchs marched in evil day,
And Britain joined the dire array;
Though dear her shores and circling ocean,
Though many friendships, many youthful loves
Had swoll'n the patriot emotion,
And flung a magic light o'er all her hills and groves;
Yet still my voice, unaltered, sang defeat
To all that braved the tyrant-quelling lance,
And shame too long delayed, and vain retreat!
For ne'er, O Liberty! with partial aim
I dimmed thy light or damped thy holy flame;
But blessed the pæans of delivered France,
And hung my head and wept at Britain's name.
* * * * * * *
Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive those dreams!
I hear thy voice, I hear thy loud lament,
From bleak Helvetia's icy cavern sent—
I hear thy groans upon her blood-stained streams!
Heroes, that for your peaceful country perished,
And ye that, fleeing, spot your mountain-snows
With bleeding wounds; forgive me, that I cherished
One thought that ever blessed your cruel foes!
To scatter rage, and traitorous guilt,
Where Peace her jealous home had built;

find the French passing the Rubicon—occupying the Netherlands—seizing upon the sea-ports of Belgium—annexing that country to France, and thus menacing the maritime supremacy of England ;—when we see French emissaries endeavouring to excite revolution in Great Britain, and to establish an independent Gallicised republic in Ireland ;—not only murdering their King and Queen, and committing such inhuman atrocities and freaks of anarchical fury, as to render it incumbent on surrounding nations, on the principle of self-preservation, to interfere, but publicly proclaiming war against the principle of kingly government and religion, and in the name of the National Assembly of France offering their protection and alliance to all nations desirous of recovering their liberties—*i. e.* of cashiering kings and priests ; above all, when we recollect that the French revolutionary government struck the first blow,—that the mass of the French people became possessed and infatuated with a desire for rapine, pillage, and foreign war,—and that England

A patriot race to disinherit
Of all that made their stormy wilds so dear ;
And with inexpiable spirit
To taint the bloodless freedom of the mountaineer—
O France, that mockest Heaven, adulterous, blind,
And patriot only in pernicious toils,
Are these thy boasts, champion of human kind ?
To mix with kings in the low lust of sway,
Yell in the hunt, and share the murderous prey ;
To insult the shrine of Liberty with spoils
From freemen torn ; to tempt and to betray ?
The sensual and the dark rebel in vain,
Slaves by their own compulsion ! In mad game
They burst their manacles and wear the name
Of Freedom, graven on a heavier chain !

was the oldest, the most constant, and the most powerful of the enemies of France, and therefore an object of hatred to a vain and excited people,—it would be difficult to censure the policy so warmly and so ably recommended by the Earl of Mornington in 1794, of which, as we shall soon see, his Lordship was recognised as the most conspicuous champion. That policy was bold, vigorous, decided, and adequate to the occasion. If it has left to us the responsibility of a heavy debt, it has transmitted to us the noble and venerable fabric of the British Constitution unimpaired; it consolidated the English empire in all its parts,—preserved and extended the commerce of England,—established and confirmed the naval supremacy of this nation,—brought into play the great mental energies and astonishing resources of this kingdom, and added lustre to the renown of the British arms; it restored the balance of power in Europe,—we may add, it saved British India, and it preserved us from the pest of having a godless levelling democracy * established in the neighbourhood of our shores!

The part sustained by Lord Mornington, with reference to the war with France, established his character as one of the most able politicians of his time; and, it will be found, most materially influenced the course of his policy when at the head of the government of

* It is not here meant that democracy is *necessarily* godless and levelling. In the United States there are great inequalities of property; and the general character of the people is decidedly religious. The Americans achieved their revolution wisely and righteously; they proceeded soberly; adhering to the great bulk of the laws and customs of their ancestors (see *Kent's Commentaries*); and notwithstanding Paine's *Age of Reason*, never abjured Christianity, or threw off the restraints of religion.

India. His great speech in the House of Commons in 1794, to which Mr. Sheridan replied in a strain of brilliant raillery and remarkable earnestness of feeling, created a profound sensation throughout the nation; it vindicated the policy of the Government, of which his Lordship formed a part, with singular ability; placing before the country, in all its bearings, the merits of the question at issue between Great Britain and France.

The tragical death of the unfortunate French King, Louis XVI., created one general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence in every part of the kingdom. It was immediately followed by the annexed note from Lord Grenville, the Foreign Minister, to M. Chauvelin the French Minister Plenipotentiary in England, ordering him in the course of eight days to quit this realm :—

"I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you have been invested at this Court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his late most Christian Majesty, you have no more any public character here. The King can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His Majesty has thought fit to order that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order, which his Majesty in his Privy Council has given to this effect. I send you a passport for yourself and your suite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the

character of Minister Plenipotentiary from his most Christian Majesty, which you have exercised at this Court. "I have the honour to be, &c.,

"GRENVILLE."

"Dated, Whitehall, January 24th, 1793."

Four days after the date of this note, the King sent down a message to the House of Commons, in which, after alluding to "the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris," his Majesty observed, "In the present situation of affairs, his Majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and relies on the known affection and zeal of the House of Commons to enable his Majesty to take the most effectual measures in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but are peculiarly so when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society." Mr. Pitt, in the debate on this message, spoke of the death of Louis as "a subject which, for the honour of human nature, it would be better, if possible, to dismiss from our memories, to expunge from the page of history, and to conceal it both now and hereafter from the observation of the world :—

"Excidat ille dies ævo, neu postera credant
Secula; nos certe taceamus, et obruta multa
Nocte tegi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis."

Up to this moment England had maintained a strict neutrality; during the previous summer France was engaged in war with Austria and Prussia, but this country abstained from taking any part in it. The aggrandizements of France in Savoy and the Netherlands, in defiance of several solemn engagements entered into with England, and the declarations of members of the French Government of an intention to excite a revolution in this kingdom, altered the posture of affairs, and suggested an immediate augmentation of the forces. Ten days after the message from which we have quoted, another royal message was sent down to Parliament, to the following effect :—

" George R.

" His Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House of Commons that the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his Majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations and the most positive stipulations of treaty ; and have since, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against his Majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his Majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain the honour of his Crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people ; and his Majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the House of Commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and a loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war, and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Provi-

dence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the farther progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

"In a cause of such general concern, his Majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his Majesty in the ties of alliance, and who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe.

"G. R."

In all the responsibilities arising from these grave events, the Earl of Mornington bore a part,—his Lordship being, at that time, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and an influential member of the Government.

On the opening of Parliament on the 21st of January, 1794, a most important and memorable debate took place on the original policy and the progress of the war. The discussion originated in the motion for an address of thanks to the King, in answer to his Majesty's speech.* The ministerial champion was Lord

* "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious speech from the Throne.

"To assure his Majesty that the circumstances under which we are assembled will not fail to command our most serious attention, as we are sensible that, on the issue of the contest in which we are engaged, depends the maintenance of our Constitution, laws, and religion, and the security of all civil society.

"That we have observed with satisfaction the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers in different parts of Europe, and the change which has taken place in the general situation of

Mornington,—the leading advocate for amity with France, Mr. Sheridan; Pitt and Fox being content to play subordinate parts on the occasion. We have the advantage of having a copy of Lord Mornington's

affairs upon the Continent, since the commencement of the war: and that we must in a particular manner congratulate his Majesty on the valuable possessions which have been acquired from the enemy; on the undisputed superiority at sea, which has enabled his Majesty to afford such effectual protection to the commerce of his subjects; and on the important and decisive blow which has been given to the naval power of his enemies, under circumstances which reflect the highest honour upon the conduct, abilities, and spirit of his Majesty's commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land.

"That the system from which our enemies have derived the means of temporary exertion, founded as it is upon the violation of every principle of justice, humanity, and religion, evidently productive of internal discontent and confusion in France, and tending rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of that country, appears to prove, in the strongest manner, the necessity of vigour and perseverance on our part, and to afford in itself a just expectation of ultimate success.

"That we must undoubtedly join with your Majesty in regretting the necessary continuance of the war; but we are persuaded that it would be inconsistent with the essential interests of his Majesty's subjects to look to the restoration of peace on any grounds but such as may provide for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe: and it is impossible for us not to perceive that the attainment of these ends is obstructed by the prevalence of a system in France equally incompatible with the happiness of that country and with the tranquillity of all other nations.

"That we acknowledge his Majesty's goodness in having directed to be laid before us copies of the Declaration which his Majesty has thought proper to issue, and also of the several Conventions and Treaties which his Majesty has concluded.

"That we most cordially rejoice that his Majesty has so much reason to reflect with satisfaction on the steady loyalty and firm attachment to the established Constitution and Government, which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and to seduce, have been so generally prevalent amongst all ranks of his Majesty's subjects. That the zeal and alacrity of the militia to provide for our internal defence, and the distinguished bravery and spirit displayed on every occasion by his Majesty's forces, both by sea and land, are the natural result of these

speech, corrected by his Lordship himself, and published in a pamphlet in 1794, under his own direction. It deserves to be remarked, as a singular coincidence, that the only speech ever known to have been corrected for publication by Mr. Sheridan was the speech in reply to Lord Mornington, delivered during this debate.

sentiments, and might well be expected from a brave and free people, animated by the example of his Majesty's illustrious progeny, and sensible of the value of those blessings which it is the object of all our exertions to preserve.

"That although we must at all times lament the necessity of any additional burthens, we feel it our indispensable duty to make a speedy and ample provision for the public service; and that we steadily endeavour to defray those expenses which the exigencies of the time must require, in such a manner as to avoid as far as possible any pressure which could be severely felt by the nation.

"That his Majesty may be assured that in all our deliberations we can never lose sight of *the true grounds and origin of the war:* we have been called upon by every motive of duty and self preservation to repel an attack upon his Majesty and his allies, founded upon principles which tend to destroy all property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful but useful lesson to the present age and to posterity.

"That we are sensible that the discountenance or relaxation of our exertions could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could never terminate in security or peace; and we trust that all his Majesty's subjects, impressed with the necessity of defending whatever is dear to them, and relying with confidence on the valour and resources of their country, on the combined efforts of so large a part of Europe, and above all on the incontestable justice of their cause, will study to render their conduct a contrast to that of their enemies; and by cultivating and practising the principles of humanity, and the duties of religion, will endeavour to merit the continuance of the divine favour and protection which have been so eminently experienced by these kingdoms."

The address was proposed by Lord Clifden, and seconded by Sir Peter Burrell.

Lord Mornington began his address by drawing the attention of Parliament to the impossibility of retreating from the contest in which they had engaged. "If," said his Lordship, "the present juncture of our affairs afforded us a free option between war and peace; if the necessity which originally compelled us to engage in the present contest had ceased, and the question for our deliberation on this day were merely, whether we should return to the secure and uninterrupted enjoyment of a flourishing commerce, of an overflowing revenue, of tranquil liberty at home, and of respect and honour abroad; or whether, on the other hand, we should wantonly commit to the doubtful chance of arms all those accumulated blessings; no man could hesitate one moment in deciding on such an alternative. To us, more especially, no other guide would be necessary than our own recent experience. Within our own memory, the country has passed with such rapid steps from the lowest state of adversity to the utmost degree of opulence, splendour, and power, that all our minds must be furnished with whatever useful lessons are to be drawn from either fortune. We all know and have felt what may be lost by the calamities of war, and what may be gained by a wise improvement of the advantages of peace. But whether I revert to the grounds and origin of this war,—whether I look forward to the probable issue of the contest, or fix my attention on the inevitable effects of any attempt to abandon it in the present crisis,—my judgment is drawn to the painful but irresistible conclusion, *that no such alternative is now before us.* Our choice must now be made between the vigorous prosecution of our present exertions, and

an ambiguous state neither of open hostility nor of real repose ;—a state in which we should suffer most of the inconveniences of war, in which we should enjoy none of the solid advantages of peace ; in which, even if we could purchase, at the expense of our honour and our faith, a short respite from the direct attack of the enemy, we should never for a moment feel the genuine sense of permanent security, unless we could contemplate, without emotion, the rapid progress of the arms and principles of France in the territories of our allies; unless we could behold, without anxiety, the rapid approaches of the same danger threatening the British dominions ; unless we could sit at ease, with the axe suspended over our heads, and wait with tranquillity of mind the moment when these formidable enemies, after the extinction of every element of order and regular government in their own country, after the subjugation of every foreign power whose allegiance might assist us in our last struggles, strengthened by additional resources, animated by the prospect of new plunder, and flushed with the triumphant success of their prosperous crimes, should turn their whole force against the British Monarchy, and complete their victory over the interests of civil society by the final destruction of that fair fabric of government, under which these happy kingdoms have so long enjoyed the inseparable advantages of substantial liberty, settled order, and established law. No part of the speech from the Throne more fully meets my sentiments on this important question, than that in which his Majesty recommends us to bear in mind the true grounds and origin of the present war. We cannot have for-

gotten that before the French had declared war against us, we had seen in their conduct views of aggrandizement, projects of ambition, and principles of fixed hostility against all established government; and we had been convinced that, unless the foundation of our complaints should be removed by a total alteration in their system with respect to foreign nations, war on our part would become at length inevitable. We cannot have forgotten that, instead of endeavouring to remove our just apprehensions, their explanations afforded fresh motives of jealousy, and their conduct aggravated every cause of offence; until at length they interrupted all negotiation by a sudden declaration of war, attended by circumstances of unexampled perfidy and violence. At that time we declared, at the foot of the Throne, 'that we considered whatever his Majesty's subjects held most dear and sacred, the stability of our happy Constitution, the security and honour of his Majesty's Crown, and the preservation of our laws, our liberty, and our religion, to be all involved in the issue of the present contest; and we pledged ourselves that our zeal and exertions should be proportioned to the importance of the conjuncture, and to the magnitude and value of the objects for which we had to contend. Impressions conceived after such deliberate examinations, assurances so solemnly pledged in the face of the nation and of all Europe, will not be abandoned by the wisdom and firmness of this House, upon such suggestions as have hitherto been offered in this debate. Before we can be justified in relinquishing the principles by which our proceedings have hitherto been governed, we shall require satisfactory proof,—either that the im-

pressions which we had originally conceived of the views of France were erroneous; or that, by the course of subsequent events, the success of the war is become desperate and impracticable; or that, from some improvement in the system and principles which prevail in France and in the views and characters of those who now exercise the powers of government there, the motives of justice and necessity which compelled us to enter into the war no longer continue to operate."

On each of these propositions separately, and on the combined result of the whole, Lord Mornington declared his intention to bring the question to an issue. "In the present moment, however superfluous it may appear to search for any additional justification of our conduct, or to endeavour to throw any new light on a question already so well understood, yet it cannot but prove satisfactory to us that a variety of occurrences since the commencement of the war, and many new and striking proofs have concurred to confirm the wisdom and justice of our decision, not merely on general grounds, but precisely on the very grounds on which it was originally founded." "If," continued Lord Mornington, "I could bring to your Bar the most malignant, the most active, and the most able enemy of the British name in the National Convention, the author of the most scandalous official libels against the views, interests, and power of Great Britain, the author of the most inflammatory speeches tending to provoke the war in which we are engaged, the author of the declaration of war itself, and the inventor of all the pretences by which it has since been palliated both in France and in England; if I could bring him to a cross-

examination in your presence, confront him with his own reports, speeches, and manifestoes as with those of his colleagues in office, and comparing the result of the whole with concurrent and subsequent events, convict him and his associates of falsehood, treachery, and prevarication, in all their pretended explanations of their own designs, as well as in all their affected complaints of the supposed views of his Majesty's counsels, I am persuaded that you would not reject an investigation, the issue of which must tend to confirm the nation in the original justice of our cause: such is the nature of the proof which I am about to offer to you."

Lord Mornington then called the attention of the House of Commons to a letter addressed by Brissot,—the leader of the Diplomatic Committee and the mainspring of the French Government at the breaking out of the war,—to his constituents in defence of his measures after he had fallen into disgrace. "In that letter," said Lord Mornington, "Brissot reveals the whole secret and mystery of the French Revolution, and makes an open confession of the principles by which France was directed in her intercourse with other powers, of the means which she employed, and of the ends which she pursued."

"The views," said his Lordship, "which are attributed to France previous to the war, were views of aggrandizement and ambition, connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the existence of any regular government. The particular acts by which those views were manifested were—first, the decree of the 19th of November,* in which France

* 1792.

made (according to her own language) a grant of universal fraternity and assistance, and ordered her generals everywhere to aid and abet those citizens who had suffered, or might suffer hereafter, in the cause of (what she called) liberty. Her sense of liberty, as applied to England, was shown by the reception of seditious and treasonable addresses, and by the speeches of the President of the National Convention, expressing his wish for the auspicious institution of a British Convention, founded, as such an institution must have been, upon the destruction of every branch of our happy Constitution. 2nd. The conduct of France in incorporating the territories of other powers with her own, under colour of voluntary acts of union, pretended to have been freely voted by the people: —particularly in the cases of Savoy and the Netherlands, of both which countries France had assumed the sovereignty. 3rd. The opening of the Scheldt, in direct violation of the most solemn treaties, guaranteed by France herself. And, lastly, by her general designs of hostility against Holland."

When the decree of the 19th of November was complained of in England, the Executive Council of France answered, that it would be injurious to the National Convention to charge them with the project of protecting insurrections. Lord Mornington undertook to show the hypocrisy of this reply:—

"Brissot, in his confessions, is pleased to admit, 'that the decree of the 19th of November was absurd and impolitic, and justly excited uneasiness in foreign cabinets.' You shall now hear the wise, politic, and conciliatory exposition of the principles of France,

which he opposes to that decree. 'What was the opinion of enlightened men—of men who were republicans before the 10th of August—who desired liberty, not only for their own country, but for all Europe? They thought that liberty might be established every where, by exciting those for whom government is administered against those who administer it, and by proving to the people the facility and advantages of such insurrections.' This theory of universal liberty," continued Lord Mornington, "founded upon universal insurrection—this system of exciting the people against all regular government, of whatever form, against all authority, of whatever description—this plan for the instruction of the mob in the advantages of disorder, and in the facility of outrage and plunder, is deliberately applauded by Brissot, as the established doctrine of the most moderate men in France; to which no one could object, on account of its absurdity or impolicy, or of its tendency to excite uneasiness in foreign cabinets."*

After quoting other passages from the writings of Brissot and Condorcet, illustrative of the proceedings of France with reference to Belgium, Lord Mornington called the attention of the House to the conduct of

* "The King and his Parliament mean to make war against us; will the English *Republicans* suffer it? Already these freemen show their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers, the French. Well! we will fly to their succour; we will make a descent on the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our Republican brethren; the tyranny of their Government will soon be destroyed. Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea!"—*Letter of Monge, the French Minister of Marine*, 31st December, 1792.

the French revolutionary agents in the United States of America, St. Domingo, and Constantinople :—"In America, Citizen Genet was appointed President by Brissot and Le Brun : he there commenced his operations by the institution of a Jacobin club ; he publicly insulted the magistrates ; disputed the acts of the Government ; opened what he was pleased to call a Consular Tribunal, under the authority of the French Republic, for the condemnation of prizes within the territory of America ; enforced the execution of its sentences by acts of open violence ; and at length, the powers and privileges of the consul acting under his orders having been annulled by the President of the United States, and his proceedings having been checked, as being contrary to the law of nations, and to the rules by which the relations of independent states are governed, Citizen Genet presents a remonstrance to the Secretary of State, in which he gravely says that 'he does not recollect what the worm-eaten writings of Grotius, Puffendorff, and Vattel say on these subjects ; he thanks God he has forgotten what those hireling civilians have written on the rights of nations, in times of universal slavery ; but he knows that his conduct has been agreeable to the spirit of the French constitution, of the American constitution, and of the rights of man, which are for ever engraven on his heart, and from which he learns that an appeal must be from the President, who is a mere ministerial officer, to the sovereign people of America.' Thus this disciple of Brissot takes upon himself to supersede every maxim of the law of nations, by doctrines drawn from the constitution of France ; and, not con-

tent with that outrage, he arrogates to himself the right of interpreting the constitution of America by reference to the same polluted source, and affects to depose the President of the United States from his constitutional authority under colour of the sacred rights of man, and the indefeasible sovereignty of the people! Citizen Descorches, employed by the same party at Constantinople, proceeded in the same spirit; he established Jacobin clubs, and held primary assemblies for the propagation of the true faith of liberty among the Janissaries of the Porte. Thus, from Mr. Jefferson to the Reis Effendi, from the President of the United States of America to the Grand Seignior, from the Congress to the Divan, from the popular form of a republic to the most unmixed military despotism, every mode and gradation of lawful authority, or of established power, was the object of deliberate, systematic, and uniform attack! There is another feature of this project which I cannot omit, because it so nearly concerns the security of some of the most valuable possessions of the British Empire. We are told by Robespierre, that a part of the general scheme of Brissot and his associates was to free and arm all the negroes in the French colonies in the West Indies. Brissot, instead of attempting to refute this charge, takes merit to himself for the ingenuity and simplicity of the invention. He says, that by the simple operation of purifying the colonial system of the French islands, *he would have accomplished the destruction of all the British colonies in the West Indies.* He adds—'This is a secret of which few have any idea.' Those who have given their

attention more particularly to the case of the African negroes will be the first to feel the complicated horror of this detestable project of massacre and desolation. An abrupt emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, accompanied with the circumstance of putting arms into their hands, would instantly occasion a scene of bloodshed and misery which our imaginations could scarcely conceive, if it had not already been realised in the Island of St. Domingo, under the auspices of the commissioners appointed by Brissot and his party. There cannot be a more striking instance of the general tendency of the views of those who governed France at the time of the declaration of war; it contains an epitome of that extensive conspiracy against the order of society and the peace of mankind, which we have already considered in detail."

This was the first stage in Lord Mornington's argument. He had shown that the mischievous spirit of the decree of the 19th of November, granting universal fraternity, &c., had been avowed, acknowledged, and defended by Brissot, while it was denied by the Executive Council in their communications with the British Government,—Brissot being the champion of all their principles and the author of all their plans; that Brissot's exposition of this destructive spirit had been confirmed by a variety of concurrent circumstances; and that the arguments by which the difference of opinion between the contending parties and France, with respect to the decree of the 19th of November, had been maintained, served only to prove more strongly their unanimous agreement in the main principle of destruction on which that decree was founded. The noble Lord

then proceeded to discuss the principle of the incorporations or re-unions of the different territories annexed to the dominions of France; dwelling strongly upon the gross prevarications and contradictions of the author of the declaration of war as well as the shallow artifices employed by the Executive Council of France, in the hope of concealing the ambitious views of the French from the eyes of Europe.—

"First, with respect to Savoy and Nice;—Brissot in a report made to the National Convention, on the 12th of January 1793, in the name of the Committee of General Safety,—a report intended to prepare them for the approaching war, and professing to contain a full and candid discussion of all the complaints of Great Britain, uses these words—'The unanimous wish of all the communities of Savoy, legitimates the union with that country.' Thus writes Brissot before the commencement of the war: observe how frankly and honestly he has since confessed the truth.—'Cambon wanted to unite everything, that he might sell everything: thus he FORCED the union of Savoy and of Nice.' With regard to the Netherlands, Brissot tells us in his confessions, that Cambon, the French Minister of Finance, forced that measure also with two views; the compulsory introduction of assignats into that opulent country, and the universal plunder of property; he introduces Cambon and his party reasoning with the Convention upon the manner of negotiating an union with the free and sovereign people of Belgium, in the following words: 'The mortgage of our assignats draws near its end: what must be done? Sell the church property of Brabant; there is a mortgage of

two thousand millions (eighty millions sterling). How shall we get possession of them? By an immediate union! Men's minds are not disposed to it. What does that signify? Let us make them vote by means of money. Without delay, therefore, they secretly order the Minister of Foreign Affairs to dispose of four or five hundred thousand livres (20,000*l.* sterling) to make the mob of Brussels drunk, and to buy proselytes to the principle of union in all states. But even these means, it was said, will obtain but a weak minority in our favour: What does that signify? Revolutions, said they, are made only by *minorities!* It is the minority which has made the Revolution of France.'— Thus," continued Lord Mornington, "you see that the union of these vast territories, with all their immense population, wealth, and commerce, was considered by the French Minister of Finance as nothing more than a mere financial operation, for the purpose of supporting the sinking credit of his assignats. The sacred regard paid to the general will of the people in the doctrines respecting minorities, cannot have escaped the observation of the House. Something has been already said of the means employed to obtain the free consent of the people to these unions. On this subject we have full information from Brissot. 'Do you believe the Belgians were ever imposed upon by those votes and resolutions made by what is called acclamation for their union, for which corruption paid in part and fear forced the remainder? Who at this time of day is unacquainted with the springs and wires of their miserable puppet-show? Who does not know the forces of primary assemblies, composed of a presi-

dent, of a secretary, and of some assistants, whose day-work was paid for? How could they believe themselves free and sovereign when we made them take such an oath as we thought fit, as a test to give them the right of voting? What could the disarmed Belgians object to all this, surrounded as they were with seventy thousand men? They had only to hold their tongues, and to bow down their heads before their masters! They did hold their tongues, and their silence is received as a sincere and free assent!' Brissot states, with equal force of language, the ruinous effects of all these measures; he says 'Despotism and anarchy are the benefits which we have transplanted into this soil; we suppressed at once all their ancient usages, all their prejudices, all the ranks and orders of their society; we proscribed their priests; we treated their religious worship with open marks of contempt; we seized their revenues, their domains, and their riches, for the profit of the nation; we carried to the very altar those hands which they regarded as profane. Doubtless,' adds Brissot, 'these operations were founded on true principles, but those principles ought to have had the consent of the Belgians before they were carried into practice.' Have, then," demanded Lord Mornington, "the 'true principles' of France been misrepresented or exaggerated in this House? Is it possible for the most honest and enthusiastic indignation which the scenes exhibited in France have raised in any British heart to vent itself in terms of more severity than those which Brissot has used in expounding what he justly calls the true principles of the French Republic!"

Lord Mornington then, with great effect, confronted Brissot's confession in his communication to his constituents with Brissot's official report, in the name of the Committee of General Defence, 12th Jan. 1793, in which he stated, "that the Belgians themselves formed, and alone will form their constitution;" as well as with the declaration of the Executive Council. "It is difficult," said his Lordship, "to determine whether the prevarications of Brissot, the reporter from the Committee of the General Safety, or the subterfuges of the Executive Council are most worthy of animadversion; both are so gross and flagrant that I cannot aggravate by any comments the impression which they have already made." The noble Lord then traced minutely the whole course of the hostile policy of the French toward Holland; and contended, that the facts which he had submitted to the House all tended to confirm those impressions as to the ulterior designs of France, which had induced Parliament to enable his Majesty to augment his forces previous to the declaration of war. "The aggression of France, which was the immediate cause of the war," said Lord Mornington in continuation, "forms another material branch of the argument; it was attempted to be justified under the pretence of certain alleged acts of hostility, particularly the stopping the export of corn to France in the month of November 1792: that measure was defended by my right honourable friends near me on the ground of their knowledge that warlike preparations were then actually making in France. Upon this subject, Brissot's testimony is not only ample and unequivocal, but it proves that preparations had been

commenced at an earlier period, and were proposed to be carried on to a much greater extent than could have been supposed by any person in this country in the month of November. While France was thus preparing an armament against the maritime powers of Europe, what should we have thought of the conduct of our ministers, if they had suffered the export of corn to that country, and thereby had contributed to accelerate the equipment of those formidable fleets which the Minister of Marine had engaged to provide? But, while we are inquiring in this House the immediate cause of the war, we may derive some useful information on that head from the contentions and divisions which have disturbed the councils of our enemies. In the Act of Accusation against Brissot and his party, one principal charge is, 'the proposal from the diplomatic committee by the organ of Brissot, to declare war abruptly against England, war against Holland, war against all the powers which had not yet declared themselves.' During the trial of Brissot, Chaumette says in the Jacobin club, 'Every patriot has a right to accuse in this place the man who voted the war; and the blood which has been shed in the Republic and without the Republic in consequence of it, shall be their proofs and their reasons.' Robespierre, in his Report on the 17th of November, 1793, says, 'With what base hypocrisy the traitors insisted on certain pretended insults said to have been offered to our ambassador!' Brissot, on the other hand, replies, 'Who has been the author of this war? The anarchists only, and yet they make it a crime in us.' Robespierre imputes it to Brissot; Brissot retorts it upon Robespierre;

the Jacobites charge it upon the Girondists; the Girondists recriminate upon the Jacobins; the Mountain thunders it upon the Valley, and the Valley re-echoes it back against the Mountain. For my part, I condemn them both—the share of this guilt which belongs to Brissot and his associates is already known to you. They who murdered Brissot and his associates upon the scaffold were not only the most active promoters of the decree of the 19th of November and of the several unions, but the principal agents in all the odious vexations exercised over the people of the Netherlands, and not one voice among them was raised against the measures which immediately led to the war. Therefore I repeat it, whatever be the crime of having drawn down upon their own country the indignation of Great Britain and of her numerous allies, and of having fomented a general war in Europe, I charge that crime equally upon both these sanguinary factions."

Lord Mornington then entered into an examination of the various operations during the first campaign of the war. In mentioning the success of the Allies in Holland, his Lordship quoted a remarkable observation of Robespierre, regretting that Dumouriez had not invaded Holland immediately after the conquest of the Netherlands. 'If we had invaded Holland, we should have become masters of the Dutch navy; the wealth of that country would have been blended with our own; her power added to that of France, the Government of England would have been undone, and the Revolution of Europe secured.' The success of his Britannic Majesty's navy had been signal. 'In the month of March,' observed Brissot, 'all our privateers were de-

stroyed by the English in the Channel. In the month of April our trading-vessels were taken by English frigates at the very mouths of our rivers.' Having drawn attention to the advantages gained over the French in Newfoundland, the islands of Tobago and St. Domingo, Lord Mornington adverted to the posture of affairs in Asia. It is evident from his remarks, that he had even then conceived in his mind the outline of that policy which afterwards distinguished his administration in British India, and imparted unity, strength, and solidity to our colossal eastern empire.—"In the East Indies the French have been expelled from all their possessions excepting Pondicherry, the capture of which could not (according to the latest advices) long be delayed. The acquisition of the fort of Mahé, on the coast of Malabar, is of the greatest advantage to our new territories on that coast, both with a view to the commerce and good government of those countries; in a political view, it is obviously of considerable importance that the French should not continue to hold a possession which afforded them the means of so direct and easy an intercourse with Tippoo Sultan."

Having dwelt at some length on the history of the revolutionary government, Lord Mornington continued:—"Such was the origin, and such is the form of that monster in politics, of which, as the very notion involves a contradiction of ideas, the name cannot be expressed without a contradiction in terms—A *Revolutionary Government!* a government which, for the ordinary administration of affairs, resorts to those means of violence and outrage which had hitherto been considered, even in France, as being exclusively

appropriated to the laudable and sacred purpose of subverting all lawful and regular authority. The sense of the epithet, *Revolutionary*, which is so lavishly applied by the Convention to every part of this new system, requires some explanation. An extract from the proceedings of the National Convention, will serve to exemplify the manner in which that singular phrase is understood and admired by the most unquestionable authority in the service of revolutions. Barrère makes a report respecting the situation of the Republic in the month of December; he reads a variety of dispatches from the National Commissioners in various parts of the Republic; and at length he produces a letter from Carrier, one of the Commissioners of the Convention, dated Nantz, December the 10th. This letter, after giving an account of a successful attack against the Royalists, concludes with the following remarkable words:—'This event has been followed by another, which has, however, nothing new in its nature. Fifty-eight individuals, known by the name of refractory priests, arrived at Nantz from Angers. They were shut up in a barge on the river Loire, and last night they were all sunk to the bottom of that river. What a revolutionary torrent is the Loire!' You expect to hear, perhaps, that the disgusting relation of this inhuman action raised some emotions of horror, if not of compassion, in the audience; you expect to hear that the Convention manifested its resentment at this abuse of the revolutionary language; but does any symptom of such sentiments appear? No! after having listened to this *interesting* report, the Convention votes the following resolu-

tion :—'The National Convention, highly satisfied with the report of Barrère, orders it to be printed, inserted in the votes, and sent to all the armies.' Highly satisfied with this figurative illustration of the style and title of that mild government which they had so lately instituted, they order it to be proclaimed and published over the whole territory of the Republic, to conciliate the affections of a free people and animate the enthusiasm of a brave and generous army. Here you learn the full force and energy of their new phraseology. The Loire is a revolutionary torrent because it has been found an useful and expeditious instrument of massacre, because it has destroyed by a sudden and violent death fifty-eight men, against whom no crime was alleged but the venerable character of their sacred functions and the faithful adherence to the principles of their religion. But this event is truly said to have nothing new in its nature; I dwell upon it for the application of the phrase, not for the singularity of the fact: every proceeding since the commencement of the troubles in France which has been dignified by the title of revolutionary, is marked with similar characters of violence or blood. The seizure of the property of the clergy and the nobility was a revolutionary measure;—the assassinations of Foulon and Berthier at Paris, and of the King's guards at Versailles in the year 1789, were revolutionary measures. All the succeeding outrages, the burning of the title-deeds and country-houses of all gentlemen of landed property, the numberless confiscations, banishments, proscriptions, and murders of innocent persons—all these were revolutionary measures;—the massacres of the 10th of Au-

gust and the 2nd of September—the attempt to extend the miseries of civil discord over the whole world, the more successful project of involving all Europe in the calamities of a general war, were *truly* revolutionary measures ;—the insulting mockery of a pretended trial to which they subjected their humane and benevolent sovereign, and the horrid cruelty of his unjust, precipitate, and execrable murder were most revolutionary measures : it has been the art of the ruling faction of the present hour to compound and to consolidate the substance of all these dreadful transactions into one mass, to concentrate all their noxious principles, and, by a new process, to extract from them a spirit which combines the malignity of each with the violence of all, and that is the true spirit of a REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT ! "

The revolutionary system of Finance next came under review. Lord Mornington, with great ability, exhibited to the House the fiscal operations of the French Government in all their details. Speaking of the efforts employed to procure gold and silver, his Lordship observed : " It will appear rather extraordinary to the House that the first measure taken with this view should have been the proscription of those metals. A letter is received from Fouché, commissioner in the central and western departments, in which you may perceive the first symptoms of a growing indignation against gold and silver. He says ' Gold and silver have been the causes of all the calamities of the Republic : I know not by what weak compliance those metals are still suffered to remain in the hands of suspected persons ; let us degrade and

vilify gold and silver; let us fling these deities of monarchy in the dirt, and establish the worship of the austere virtues of a republic.' He however adds—'I send you seventeen chests filled with gold, silver, and plate of all sorts, the spoil of churches and castles: you will see with peculiar pleasure two beautiful croziers, and a ducal coronet of silver gilt.' This ingenious idea of vilifying and degrading valuable effects by seizing them for the use of the Republic, is not lost upon the French Minister of Finance. A few days after the receipt of this letter, a citizen appears at the bar, and desires to be permitted to exchange certain pieces of gold and silver bearing the image of the tyrant for Republican paper. This patriotic and disinterested offer, as you may imagine, was gladly accepted by the Convention; but, upon a motion being made that honourable mention of this transaction should be inserted in the notes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rises with the utmost indignation to oppose so monstrous a proposition;— he delivers a most eloquent and vehement invective against gold and silver: he says, 'In a short time the world will be too happy, if we should deign to receive pieces of metal bearing the effigy of tyrants in exchange for Republican assignats; already the whole nation rejects and despises those corrupting metals, which tyrants originally brought from America for the sole purpose of enslaving us. I have in contemplation the plan of a sumptuary law, by which I will drive the vile dung once more into the bowels of the earth.' What was the sumptuary law by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to accomplish this salutary reform? Here is that excellent

law. ‘ All gold and silver metal in specie or plate, all jewels, gold and silver lace, or valuable effects which shall be discovered *buried in the earth*, or concealed in cellars, walls, rubbish, floors or pavements, hearths or chimneys, or in any secret place, shall be seized and confiscated for the use of the Republic ; and the informer shall receive a twentieth part of the value of whatever he shall discover; to be paid in assignats.’ Concealment alone is the crime on which the law attaches, without even any of the ordinary pretences of aristocracy or disaffection. In consequence of this decree, every place in which it was possible to conceal treasure is searched with the utmost rigour ; the privacy of every house is violated; every cellar and garden is dug up; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the most unrelenting spirit of persecution, pursues the objects of his hatred and contempt even to the bowels of the earth, where he had threatened to drive them.”

The formal renunciation of religion in France—the public abjuration of the faith of Jesus—and the bold denial of the existence of a God, produced sentiments of horror in England, and excited a spirit of deep indignation throughout all ranks and classes of the people. Lord Mornington did not fail, in the course of his address, to bring these circumstances, in all their deformity, before the attention of the House : “ The Commissioners in the several departments,” observed his Lordship, “ received instructions to enlighten the public mind, and to encourage the abdication of the clergy. Some extracts from the addresses of the clergy, and from the letters of the National Commissioners, will best explain the true spirit of these pro-

ceedings. An address, dated the 30th of October, from the curate of Villos de Luchon, says—'For my part, I believe that no religion in any country in the world is founded in truth. I believe that all the various religions in the world are descended from the same parents; they are the daughters of Pride and Ignorance. I believe that heaven is nothing more than the happiness which attends virtue on earth. I render this solemn homage to Truth. Universal morality is become my gospel; and henceforth I mean to draw my texts from thence alone, and to preach in no other cause than that of liberty and of my country.' Upon receiving this address the Convention decrees, 'that all similar addresses of renunciation, of the ecclesiastical character and of the functions relating to it, shall be lodged with the Committee of Public Instruction, which is ordered to take effectual measures for rendering all such public acts useful to the history of the revolution and to the public education.' This proceeding does not satisfy the eagerness of Thuriot: he observes that he has no doubt that the new creed will soon efface all memory of the old. But in order that truth may be carried into every part of the Republic with more promptitude and effect, he moves that all similar letters should be translated into all the provincial idioms; and upon his motion it is decreed, that all renunciations of the functions of religion shall be translated into all foreign languages. In the same month, the Archbishop of Paris enters the Convention, accompanied by a solemn procession of his vicars, and by several curates of Paris: he makes a speech, in which he renounces the priesthood in his own name and in the

name of all his attendants; and he declares, that 'he does it because he is convinced that no national worship should be tolerated, excepting the worship of Liberty and Equality.' The votes of the Convention mention that the Archbishop and his curates were received and embraced with transport by the whole Convention; and that the Archbishop was solemnly presented with a red cap. The day concludes with a speech from Julien of Toulouse, a member of the Convention and a minister of the Protestant Church: he says, 'For twenty years have I exercised the functions of a Protestant minister; I declare that I renounce them for ever. In every religion there is more or less of quackery. It is glorious to be able to make this declaration under the auspices of reason, of philosophy, and of that sublime constitution which has already overturned the errors of superstition and monarchy in France, and which now prepares a similar fate for all foreign tyrannies. I declare that I will no longer enter into any other temple than the sanctuary of the laws; that *I will acknowledge no other God than Liberty; no other worship than that of my country; no other gospel than the Republican Constitution.* Such is my profession of moral and political faith.' The letters of the National Commissioners are full of the same zeal. Lequinio and Laignelot, deputies of the Convention, wrote to that assembly from Rochefort, on the 2nd of the same month, in these words: 'Eight priests of the Catholic persuasion and one minister of the Protestant Church unfrocked themselves on the day of the last decade, in the presence of the whole people, in the Temple of Truth, heretofore called the parish church of

this town : they abjured the errors which they had so long taught, and they swore henceforth to teach nothing but the great principles of morality and of sound philosophy ; to preach against all tyrannies, political and religious ; and at length to display the light of reason to mankind. The whole people, Protestants and Catholics, swore to forget their ancient superstition. Everything goes on smoothly here : the people, of their own accord, approach the torch of Reason, which we hold up to them with an air of mildness and fraternity. The Revolutionary Tribunal which we have established quickens the motions of the Aristocrats ; and the guillotine strikes the heads of traitors to the ground.' Boissett, another commissioner, gives an account of his operations in the departments of Ardêche la Drôme, du Gard, and Herault. He says, ' Fanaticism is destroyed. Catholics and Protestants, forgetting their former animosities, unite in the same worship—that of Liberty and the Laws. The altars of Christianity are replaced by altars more holy.' Wherever the priests could not be induced by corruption to abjure their profession ; wherever the people did not willingly approach the torch of Reason and Truth, the most rigorous measures of persecution were adopted. Dumont, one of the National Commissioners, announces to the Convention that, in order to destroy fanaticism, he arrests all priests who celebrate religious ceremonies on Sundays. He adds, ' that he includes those monsters called priests in his general list of proscription ; and that he has made several captures of those infamous bigots.' This letter was greatly applauded in the Convention. But the zeal of the municipality of Paris was most

eminently distinguished in every period of this impious and cruel persecution. They decreed, 'that all churches and temples of religious worship, of whatever denomination, should be instantly shut; that the priests and ministers of the different religions should be responsible for any commotions on account of religion which might happen in consequence of this decree; that any person requiring the opening of a church or temple for the celebration of religious worship of any kind, should be put under arrest as a suspected person; and that the Revolutionary Committees should be invited to keep a watchful eye over the clergy of every denomination.' In consequence of this decree, the cathedral church of Notre Dame at Paris, and all the parish churches, were shut up for some time, until they could be regenerated and purified from every taint of Christianity."

Lord Mornington, having related the circumstances attending the renunciation of the service of God by a Jewish Rabbi, proceeded :—"On the same day a report was received from the popular Society of the Section of the Museum, announcing that they had executed justice upon all the books of superstition and falsehood; that breviaries, missals, legends, together with the Old and New Testament, had expiated in the fire the follies which they had occasioned among mankind.* In order to take the lead in completing the *salutary* work in which they had hitherto borne so active a part, the Council

* On the 1st of November, 1793, Fouché ordered a festival at Lyons, in honour of Chalier. An ass formed a conspicuous part of the procession, having a mitre fastened between his ears and dragging in the dirt a Bible, tied to its tail, which Bible was finally burnt before the populace, and its ashes scattered to the winds!

General of Paris decreed 'that a civic feast should be celebrated in the heretofore cathedral church, and that a patriotic hymn should be chanted before a statue of Liberty, to be erected in the place of the heretofore Holy Virgin.' You remember," continued the noble Lord, "the circumstances of that extravagant orgy to which this decree was the prelude. You remember the introduction of the Goddess of Reason into the Convention, the fraternal ardour with which she was embraced by the President in the chair, by the Secretaries at the table, and by all the members present, and the piety with which she was afterwards publicly worshipped by the whole legislature of France in the cathedral church, or, to use their own language, in the regenerated Temple of Reason and Truth. There the Archbishop of Paris officiated in his new character, with a red cap on his head, and a pike in his hand; and with that sacred weapon, which he bore as the symbol of the united deities of Reason and Liberty, having destroyed or defaced whatever emblems of the Christian religion had escaped in the first purification of the regenerated Temple, he terminated this auspicious ceremony by placing the bust of the regicide Marat on the altar of God! To perpetuate the memory of this solemn act and celebrity of Atheism, the Convention voted that a colossal statue should be erected upon the ruins of all the emblems of monarchy and religion. The Sections of Paris congratulated the Legislature 'that Reason had gained so great a victory over Superstition; that a religion of error and of blood was annihilated,—a religion which for eighteen centuries had occasioned nothing but evils upon earth,

and yet it was pretended to be of divine origin! Such are the works, such are the trophies of this religion! may it be obliterated from the face of the earth! Happiness will then return; mankind will live like friends and brothers: from this auspicious moment, History, whose painful task has hitherto been to record the crimes of religion, shall have nothing to commemorate but virtue and happiness. We swear that we will tolerate no other worship than that of reason, liberty, equality, and the republic!' *It appears by the votes that the whole Convention joined in this oath;* and the President made the following reply to this address: 'In a single moment you have annihilated the memory of eighteen centuries of error. Your philosophy has offered to Reason a sacrifice worthy of her acceptance, and fit to proceed from a true republican spirit. The Assembly receives your offering and your oath in the name of the country.' From the mouths of the principal actors in this extraordinary scene," continued Lord Mornington, "I have brought before you the scope and aim of their design. It was not (as we have been told on this day) to purify their own established mode of worship, and to clear it from the errors of the Church of Rome. Protestants were invited to unite with Catholics in the extinction of the Protestant as well as of the Catholic religion; Protestants as well as Catholics were denied the liberty of assembling for the purpose of public worship; Protestant as well as Catholic churches were shut up; and those who dared to celebrate religious worship of any kind were arrested, and treated as suspected persons. Christianity was stigmatized through the organ of the President of the

Convention, amidst the applauses of the whole audience, as a system of murder and massacre, which could not be tolerated by the humanity of a revolutionary government. The Old and New Testament were publicly burnt as prohibited books. Nor was it even to Christianity of any denomination that their hatred was confined. Even Jews were involved in this comprehensive plan : their ornaments of public worship were plundered, and their vows of irreligion recorded with enthusiasm. The rigour of the laws respecting foreigners was relaxed, in order that impiety might be propagated for the general benefit of all mankind. The existence of a future state was openly denied, and modes of burial devised for the express purpose of representing to the minds of the people that death was nothing more than an everlasting sleep.* And, to complete the whole project, doctrines were publicly circulated, under the eye of the Government, maintaining that the existence of a supreme God was an idea inconsistent with the liberty of man. And yet a noble Earl† in this debate has lamented that the French Government should have met with any interruption in their laudable efforts for the destruction of despotism and superstition! I trust these expressions were inconsiderately used : we are not yet sufficiently enlightened in this House to consider an attack upon Christianity, and even against the belief and worship of a God, as a laudable effort to destroy superstition.

* Fouchè, in 1793, issued a decree in the department of Nièvre, directing the words, "Death is an eternal sleep!" to be placed over the entrance of every burial ground.

† Lord Wycombe.

* * * * Such were the proceedings by which the abolition of religion was attempted in France: but for the honour of human nature they did not answer the expectations of those who had digested the plan, and had been most active in providing the means for its execution. Disciplined in crimes, and accustomed to every scene of rapine, injustice, and cruelty, the people of France could not yet be induced to renounce for ever the consolations of religion. The provinces, almost without exception, were scandalised at the audacious profligacy of the Government, and even at Paris the strongest symptoms of the same sentiment appeared. Robespierre himself was alarmed; and the Jacobin Club thought it prudent to declare that under all the existing circumstances, they admitted the idea of a God. Apprehensions were entertained that the salutary movement of terror might take a new direction, and that the order of the day might be enforced against the Government itself. At length, amid the discontents of the people, who claimed aloud the free exercise of religious worship guaranteed to them by the Constitution, after many struggles, and many unsuccessful evasions, slow, and reluctant, and ambiguous, forth comes the repentance of the Convention! * * * * Their next step was to endeavour to vindicate their conduct to all Europe; and with that view Robespierre drew up an answer (as he styles it) to the manifestoes of all Kings, in which he refutes in the most triumphant manner the charge of irreligion which had been alleged against the revolutionary government. He says, 'We are accused of having declared war against Heaven it-

self: but what people ever offered a more pure worship to the Supreme Being? The death-warrant of tyrants lay dormant and forgotten in the timid breasts of men; we called it forth; we executed it; TO PUNISH KINGS, IS TO HONOUR GOD.' Here, then, is their creed publicly proclaimed in the face of all Europe: in the murder of their innocent King is comprised the whole principle and practice of their religion, their sole profession of faith, and their established mode of worship."

Lord Mornington, having exhausted the religious branch of his argument, next proceeded to recapitulate the sources of the revenue of the Revolutionary Government for the current year (1794),—"The tax upon all yearly income below the value of four hundred pounds, — the seizure of all yearly income above that sum, including a tax upon the funds, upon commercial capital of every description, upon private debts, and upon all money not laid out at interest,—arbitrary local loans levied upon the egotism of property and the malevolence of wealth,—taxes raised by incompetent authority,—the confiscation of all concealed property, and the abolition of religion. To this list might be added the revenue arising from their system of criminal justice, from their violations of personal freedom, and collaterally from their regulations for the destruction of agriculture and commerce, and for the maintenance of their army." Having examined separately the regulations of the French respecting agriculture, commerce, and internal trade, his Lordship observed:—"Such is the system established upon the ruins of every right of property, and of every foundation of general opulence, by which the Revo-

lutionary Government have hitherto procured their revenue, and maintained and supplied their numerous armies. It remains to be considered by what application of terror this system has been enforced. Among the most sacred rights of a free people and the most essential maxims of justice are the right of personal freedom, and the maxim that no person should be punished without being heard. These rights were guaranteed to the people of France by the Constitution of the 10th of August, 1793. In defiance, however, of that constitution, arbitrary imprisonment and punishment upon mere suspicion—the most vexatious and odious instrument of despotic power—have been employed by the Revolutionary Government with a violence surpassing all that is recorded of the most rigorous tyrannies that have ever afflicted mankind. They have formally and openly abolished every trace of personal liberty in France by a single law, which requires no other comment than the proceedings of the Convention itself. Barrère, in a report from the Committee of Public Welfare, explains the principal and object of this law: he says—'The quality of mercy is the first sacrifice which a good republican owes to his country. In order to preserve the revolutionary vigour of the Government, an institution—terrible, indeed, but necessary—an institution which has been the salvation of France, has been disseminated throughout all the sections and all the municipalities: I mean, the *law for the arrest of suspected persons.* The keen and piercing eye of jealous Liberty has been fixed upon every citizen, has penetrated into every family, and pervaded every habitation. Public opi-

nion has marked out the persons who ought to be suspected, and they have accordingly fallen under the severity of the law. Birth, prejudices of pride, and habits of aristocracy, have branded every remnant of the *gentry of France* as a just object of suspicion. The useless, if not dangerous nature of their occupation, their illicit gains, their confidential concern in the pecuniary affairs of foreigners, are sufficient grounds for the arrest of the *whole class of bankers.* Their cruel speculations, their contempt for assignats, their sordid attachment to their own interest, have estranged *all merchants* from their fellow-citizens ;—they therefore form another class of suspected persons. *The relations of emigrants*—those who have aided them in their escape, those whom nature and the ties of blood have made the necessary accomplices of all their sentiments of hatred or affection—all these are equally obnoxious to suspicion. *All the clergy* who have refused the constitutional oath, and who think that all is lost *because their trade has become useless ;* all the *ancient magistrates,* all those who have been bred to the profession of the *law,* are destined by their habits and interests to people the public prisons. These are the classes of society *which are sentenced at once without being heard ;* these are the professions which carry their condemnation with them ; these are the natural connection of parentage and affection, which it is the duty of the law to strike without trial and without mercy. Let us banish all compassion from our bosoms ! Oh ! what innumerable mischiefs may be produced by a false sentiment of pity !' But," added the noble Earl, commenting on this

extraordinary document, "these violations of the liberty of the subject will appear as acts of clemency, when compared with the daily murders and massacres which compose that sanguinary and merciless system, entitled by the Revolutionary Government, the Administration of Criminal Justice. * * * * The effusion of blood at Paris has been such, that not less than a thousand executions have taken place there within the course of six months. Yet the vengeance and avarice of the Government is so far from being satiated, that the Commissioners of Police have lately acquainted the municipality of Paris, that the pit which had been appropriated for the burial of the unfortunate victims of the revolutionary tribunal was nearly full, and could not hold above 'some sixty' more; they therefore desire immediate authority to dig another, in order to prevent any delay of justice! I cannot," said Lord Mornington, "forbear to remark in this place, that during the whole period when all the power and authority of government in France were exercised by that humane and benevolent Prince whose innocent blood was shed on the scaffold, not one instance is to be found of an execution for a state crime! * * * * * You have now before you the principal features both of the theory and practice of the Revolutionary Government. Reviewing this unexampled system in all its details, you will find special and effectual provision established for the indiscriminate misery and ruin of every rank and order of society. It contains a principle of impartial persecution, equally applicable (as the occasion may require) to the separate interests of every dis-

tinct class and description of the people, from the gentleman of landed property and the opulent bankers and merchants, down to the industrious manufacturer and laborious peasant. Are these the arts of government? Are these the means by which the discordant interests and the contending passions of mankind can be brought to act in concert, and can be directed to the welfare of the community, the end of all political society, and the only solid foundation of power? I speak to an assembly versed in all the great maxims of government, affectionately attached to the genuine principles of liberty, and accustomed to deliberate on whatever can affect the interests of a powerful state and the happiness of a numerous people. In such an assembly I am persuaded that I should not be contradicted, if I were to contend, without any further proof, that a tyranny so constituted and so exercised must of necessity be odious to the people, and consequently, whatever might be its temporary efforts, must rest upon an insecure and uncertain foundation. But I need not rely on general topics, however justly drawn from the constitution of human affairs, and from the character of man in all situations and in all ages. The people of France have not tamely submitted to the oppression of this mean and humiliating usurpation. In no less than forty of the departments a spirit of indignation has broken out against the Government; in many the people have taken up arms and waged open war; in some they have expressed their discontent by riots and insurrections, by opposing the levies for the army, and by refusing to submit to the confiscation of their incomes, and to the plunder

of their goods. This spirit has appeared with great strength in all the most opulent commercial towns; but it has not been confined to them; it has been diffused as widely as the oppression which excited it, and its symptoms (varying with opportunities and means of exertion) are to be traced in almost every town and village of France. * * * * From the facts I have already enumerated, it is incontestable that, in proportion as this tyranny consumes the property of France, it must entertain projects of ambition and aggrandisement; it must endeavour to repair its disordered finances by preying upon its neighbours, and to supply the exhausted resources of domestic confiscation by foreign plunder. It is equally evident, on the same general grounds, that it must be the immediate interest of a government, founded on principles wholly contradictory to the received maxims of all surrounding nations, to propagate the doctrines abroad by which it subsists at home, to assimilate every neighbouring state to its own system, and to subvert every constitution which can form a disadvantageous contrast with its own absurdities. *Such a government must therefore, from its nature, be hostile to all regular governments, of whatever form; but above all, to those which are most strongly contrasted with its own vicious structure, and which afford to their subjects the best securities for the maintenance of order, liberty, justice, and religion!*"

Lord Mornington concluded his elaborate address, which occupied several hours in the delivery, with the following stirring peroration :—

"Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to prove that the

original justice and necessity of this war have been strongly confirmed by subsequent events; that the general result of the last campaign, both upon our own situation and upon that of the enemy, affords a reasonable expectation of ultimate success; and that not only the characters, the interests, and the dispositions of those who now exercise the powers of government in France, but the very nature of that system which they have established, render a treaty of peace upon safe or honourable terms impracticable in the present moment, and consequently require a vigorous and unremitting prosecution of the war. Hitherto I have addressed my arguments to the whole House; in what I shall now urge I must declare, that I do not mean to address myself to those few among us who did not share the common sentiment of the House and of the public in that period of general alarm which immediately preceded this war. But I appeal to those who, previous to the commencement of the war, felt, in common with the great body of the people, a well-grounded apprehension for the safety of our happy constitution and the general interests of civil society. Do they now feel the same degree of anxiety? Even in the midst of hostilities, in the very heat of the contest, and after a campaign which, although greatly successful in its general results, has neither been exempt from difficulty, nor from the ordinary vicissitudes of a state of war, do they not now feel in their own breasts, and perceive in the public mind, such a degree of confidence in the security of all that can be dear and valuable to British subjects, as they would have gladly purchased before the war, even by surrendering

a part of those interests, the whole of which was menaced in that gloomy period of general consternation? What change of circumstances, what happy combination has calmed the anxiety and revived the depressed spirits of the nation? Is it the decree of counter-fraternity, declaring that France will no longer interfere in the internal affairs of independent states, but reserving to her the sovereignty of all those countries which were overrun by her arms in the first career of her inordinate ambition? Is it the reply of Robespierre to the manifestoes of all the Princes of Europe, in which he pronounces kings to be the master-piece of human corruption, in which he libels every monarch in Europe, but protests that France has no intention to disturb monarchy, if the subjects of kings are still weak enough to submit to such an institution? Is it the murder of Brissot and his associates? Is it the disgrace and imprisonment of Anacharsis Clootz, the author of the Revolutionary Diplomatics, or of Thomas Paine, the author of the Rights of Man?* Is it any

* The reader will recollect Canning's satirical verses,—

"Have you not read the Rights of Man by Tom Paine?
(Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids,
Ready to fall as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.)"

A singular account of Paine's imprisonment, and of the motives which induced that person to write his celebrated "Age of Reason," was published by William Cobbett in Philadelphia, in the year 1796. "From the thief-catchers in England,"—says Cobbett, in his own characteristic way, —"Tom fled, and took his seat among the thieves of Paris. This may be looked upon as the happiest part of Tom's life: to live in a continual state of insurrection: to sit seven days in the week issuing decrees for plunder, proscription, and massacre, was a luxurious life indeed! It lasted, however, but five months. The tender-hearted, philanthropic murderer, Brissot and his faction, fell from the pinacle of their glory, poor Tom's wares got out of vogue, and his carcass got into a dungeon. This was a dreadful reverse for 'Old Common Sense.' But this was not all. He well

profession, assurance, or act of the revolutionary government of France?—You all know it is not.—The confidence of a wise people could never be rested on such weak and unsubstantial foundations. *The real cause of our present sense of security is to be found in our own exertions combined with those of our Allies.* By those exertions we were enabled to withstand and repel the first assault of the arms and the principles of France; and the continuance of the same effort now forms our only barrier against the return of the same danger. Who then shall venture to persuade you to cast away the defence which has afforded you protection against all the objects of your former apprehension, to subvert the foundations of your present confidence, and to resort, for your future safety, to the inconsistent decrees, to the contradictory declarations, and to the vague assurances of a guilty, desperate, and distracted faction, which offers no possible ground of security either in the principles of its policy or in the stability of its power?—All the circumstances of your situation are now before you.—You are now to make your option,—You are now to decide whether it best becomes the dignity, the wisdom, and the spirit of a great nation, to rely for existence on the arbitrary will of a restless

knew that the *National Razor* was at work, and he had every reason to believe that his days were numbered. He lay extended on the dirt like a sheep or a calf in a slaughter-house, expecting every moment that the butcher would come for him. How Thomas came to escape, is something that will probably remain a mystery. Be the motive for sparing his worthless life what it might, he was kept in his cage, and there he wrote the first part of his 'Age of Reason.' Now to the *motive* which led him to the composition of this blasphemous work, which was no other than that of saving his ugly uncombed head from the guillotine!" &c. &c.

and implacable enemy, or on her own sword: you are now to decide, whether you will entrust to the valour and skill of British fleets and British armies, to the approved faith and united strength of your numerous and powerful Allies, the defence of the limited monarchy of these realms, of the constitution of Parliament, of all the established ranks and orders of society among us, of the sacred rights of property, and of the whole frame of our laws, our liberty, and our religion; or whether you will deliver over the guardianship of all these blessings to the justice of Cambon, the plunderer of the Netherlands, who, to sustain the baseless fabric of his depreciated assignats, defrauds whole nations of their rights of property, and mortgages the aggregate wealth of Europe;—to the moderation of Danton, who first promulgated that unknown law of nature, which ordains that the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the Rhine, should be the only boundaries of the French dominion;—to the religion of Robespierre, whose practice of piety is to murder his own Sovereign; who exhorts all mankind to embrace the same faith, and to assassinate their kings for the honour of God; to the friendship of Barrère, who avows in the face of all Europe, that the fundamental articles of the Revolutionary Government of France is the ruin and annihilation of the British empire;—or, finally, to whatever may be the accidental caprice of any new band of malefactors, who, in the last convulsions of their exhausted country, may be destined to drag the present tyrants to their own scaffolds, to seize their lawless power, to emulate the depravity of their example, and to rival the enormity of their crimes!"

Lord Mornington's address produced a powerful impression on the House, and that impression was not removed by the brilliant reply of Mr. Sheridan. In a speech delivered by Mr. Sheridan upon a subsequent occasion, we have a description of the Earl of Mornington's *manner* as a speaker,—"Exactly two years ago at the opening of the session, he remembered to have seen the noble Lord with the same sonorous voice, the same placid countenance, in the same attitude, leaning gracefully upon the table, and giving an account from shreds and patches of Brissot, that the French republic would last but a few months longer." His Lordship in early life paid much attention to the graces of elocution: as we have already seen, his fine manly voice, and graceful deportment were noticed upon his first appearance in the Irish House of Lords, where Lord Mountmorres sneeringly compared his attitudes with those of Garrick.

The greater part of Sheridan's reply to Lord Mornington, was, we are assured,* unprepared, and it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the natural earnestness of feeling and argument which characterised the effort of this great orator upon that occasion. "Undue advantage," Mr. Sheridan contended, "had been taken of the passions attached to human nature, in order to excite the indignation of the British public against the French, on account of the enormities they had committed in the course of the Revolution. The guilt and infamy of their conduct no person could deny; but it only affected them, and no people had any other right than to lament the misfortunes of that

* Vide Moore's Life of Sheridan.

country, without assuming, however, the least interference in its domestic affairs, unless by amicable mediation between the parties. But had Europe acted this friendly part? Had it not, on the contrary, since the commencement of the Revolution, expressed a decided aversion to one of the parties, and a manifest partiality to the other? Had it not proceeded from words to deeds, and espoused the cause of the Court in such a manner as could not fail to exasperate the people of France? Doubtless, the popular fury and its consequences were deserving of execration; still, however, it did not follow that the whole nation ought to be punished for the crimes committed by the multitude during the rage of tumult and insurrection. The French were bursting, as it were, out of the prison of a long slavery: they had recovered their liberty, but knew not how to use it: they were hurried by resentment to retaliate on their oppressors the ill usage they had suffered, and had carried this retaliation to the most unjustifiable and criminal excess. But was it either equitable or wise in the European powers to coalesce for their punishment? They had an unalienable right to freedom in common with all the human race; and allowing the vengeance they had wreaked on their former masters to have been ungenerous, base, and cruel in the extreme, it had been confined to France: and foreign potentates ought to have reflected that by leaving the French to act towards each other without interposing between them, though that country would probably have been deluged with blood, it would have been the blood of Frenchmen alone, and humanity would not have to regret the additional destruction of

the many thousands whose lives had been thrown away in this fatal quarrel.

"But," demanded Mr. Sheridan, "what was the sum of all that he (the Earl of Mornington) had told the House? that great and dreadful enormities had been committed, at which the heart shuddered, and which not merely wounded every feeling of humanity, but disgusted and sickened the soul. All this was most true; but what did all this prove? what, but that eternal and unalterable truth which had always presented itself to his mind, in whatever form he had viewed the subject, namely, that a long-established despotism so far degraded and debased human nature, as to render its subjects on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them. But never had he, or would he meet but with reprobation, that mode of argument which went in fact to establish as an inference from this truth, that those who had been long slaves, ought therefore to remain so for ever! No, the lesson ought to be, he would again repeat, a tenfold horror of that despotic form of government, which had so profaned and changed the nature of civilized man, and a still more jealous apprehension of any system tending to withhold the rights and liberties of our fellow creatures. Such a form of government might be considered as twice cursed; while it existed, it was solely responsible for the miseries and calamities of its subjects; and should a day of retribution come, and the tyranny be destroyed, it was equally to be charged with all the enormities which the folly or frenzy of those who overturned it should commit. But the madness of the French people was not confined to their

proceedings within their own country ; we and all the powers of Europe had to dread it. True : but was not this, also, to be accounted for ? Wild and unsettled as their state of mind was, necessarily, upon the events which had thrown such power so suddenly into their hands, the surrounding states had goaded them into a still more savage state of madness, fury, and desperation. We had unsettled their reason, and then reviled their insanity ; we drove them to the extremities that produced the evils we arraigned ; we baited them like wild beasts, until at length we made them so. The conspiracy of Pilnitz, and the brutal threats of the royal abettors of that plot against the rights of nations and of men, had, in truth, to answer for all the additional misery, horrors, and iniquity which had since disgraced and incensed humanity. Such has been your conduct towards France, that you have created the passions which you persecute ; you mark a nation to be cut off from the world ; you covenant for their extermination ; you swear to hunt them in their inmost recesses ; you load them with every species of execration ; and you now come forth with whining declamations on the horror of their turning upon you with the fury which you inspired !"

However correctly Mr. Sheridan may have traced the causes which led to the lamentable crisis in France, he appears in the above passage to have admitted the whole of Lord Mornington's case—the necessity for defensive operations and precautions. He conceded the facts of the "madness," "fury," "desperation," and "the iniquity which had disgraced and incensed humanity" of the French : he described them as reck-

less men, impelled by "insanity," and even compared them to ferocious "wild beasts." Whatever was the original cause of the frenzy of the French nation, it was, in 1794, clearly the duty of British statesmen to protect their country against its fury.

Mr. Sheridan betrayed no small degree of bitterness in the course of his reply. Alluding to the observations of Lord Mornington, contrasting the privations and sacrifices demanded of the French by their Minister of Finance with those required of the English people, he said: "The noble Lord need not remind us that there is no great danger of our Chancellor of the Exchequer making any such experiment. I can more easily fancy another sort of speech for our prudent Minister. I can more easily conceive him modestly comparing himself and his own measures with the character and conduct of his rival, and saying, 'Do I demand of you, wealthy citizens, to lend your hoards to Government without interest? On the contrary, when I shall come to propose a loan, there is not a man of you to whom I shall not hold out at least a job in every part of the subscription, and an usurious profit upon every pound you devote to the necessities of your country. Do I demand of you, my fellow-placemen and brother-pensioners, that you should sacrifice any part of your stipends to the public exigency? On the contrary, am I not daily increasing your emoluments, and your numbers in proportion as the country becomes unable to provide for you? Do I require of you, my latest and most zealous proselytes,—of you who have come over to me for the special purpose of supporting the war—a war, on the success of which you solemnly have

declared that the salvation of Britain and of civil society itself depend—do I require of you that you should make a temporary sacrifice in the cause of human nature of the greater part of your private incomes? No, gentlemen, I scorn to take advantage of the eagerness of your zeal; and to prove that I think the sincerity of your attachment to me needs no such test, I will make your interests co-operate with your principles. I will quarter many of you on the public supply, instead of calling on you to contribute to it; and while their whole thoughts are absorbed in patriotic apprehensions for their country, I will dexterously force upon others the favourite objects of the vanity or ambition of their lives.' * * * *

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"Good God! that he should have thought it prudent to have forced this contrast upon our attention; that he should triumphantly remind us of everything that shame should have withheld and caution would have buried in oblivion! Will those who stood forth with a parade of disinterested patriotism, and vaunted of the *sacrifices* they had made, and the *exposed situation* they had chosen in order the better to oppose the friends of Brissot in England, will they thank the noble Lord for reminding us how soon those lofty professions dwindled into jobbing pursuits for followers and dependants, as unfit to fill the offices procured for them, as the offices themselves were unfit to be created? Will the train of newly-titled alarmists, of supernumerary negotiators, of pensioned paymasters, agents, and commissaries thank him for remarking to us how profitable their panic has been to themselves and how

expensive to their country? What a contrast, indeed, do we exhibit! What! in such an hour as this, at a moment pregnant with the national fate,—when, pressing as the exigency may be, the hard task of squeezing the money from the pockets of the impoverished people, from the toil, the drudgery of the shivering poor, must make the most practised collector's heart ache while he tears it from them—can it be, that people of high rank, and professing high principles, that *they* or their *families* should seek to thrive on the spoils of misery, and fatten on the meals wrested from industrious poverty? Can it be, that this should be the case with the very persons who state the *unprecedented peril of the country* as the *sole* cause of their being found in the ministerial ranks? The Constitution is in danger, religion is in danger, the very existence of the nation itself is endangered; all personal and party considerations ought to vanish; the war must be supported by every possible exertion, and by every possible sacrifice: the people must not murmur at their burdens; it is for their salvation; their all is at stake. The time is come when all honest and disinterested men should rally round the throne as round a standard;—for what, ye honest and disinterested men? to receive, for your own private emolument, a portion of those very taxes wrung from the people on the pretence of saving them from the poverty and distress which you say the enemy would inflict, but which you take care no enemy shall be able to aggravate. Oh! shame! shame! Is this a time for selfish intrigues and the little dirty traffic for lucre and emolument? Does it suit the honour of a gentleman to ask at such a moment?

Does it become the honesty of a minister to grant? Is it intended to confirm the pernicious doctrine, so industriously propagated by many, that all public men are impostors, and that every politician has his price? or, even where there is no principle in the bosom, why does not prudence hint to the mercenary and the vain to abstain awhile at least, and wait the fitting of the time? Improvident impatience! Nay, even for those who seem to have no direct object of office or profit, what is the language which their actions speak? 'The throne is in danger!'—'we will support the throne, but let us share the smiles of royalty;'—'the order of nobility is in danger!—'I will fight for nobility,' says the viscount, 'but my zeal would be much greater if I were made an earl.' 'Rouse all the marquess within me,' exclaims the earl, 'and the peerage never turned forth a more undaunted champion in its cause than I shall prove.' 'Stain my green ribbon blue,' cries out the illustrious knight, 'and the fountain of honour will have a fast and faithful servant.' What are the people to think of our sincerity?—What credit are they to give to our professions? Is this system to be persevered in? Is there nothing which whispers to that Right Honourable Gentleman that the crisis is too big, that the times are too gigantic, to be ruled by the little hackneyed and every-day means of ordinary corruption."

Mr. Wyndham defended Lord Mornington from the accusation of Mr. Sheridan, that he had not spoken to the question before the House;—declaring that the Noble Lord "had recapitulated the conduct of France in a manner so masterly, so true, and so alarming, as

seriously to fix the attention of the House and the nation." Mr. Dundas declared that Lord Mornington had illustrated the propriety of the war "in a manner not soon to be forgotten." Mr. Fox, in the debate which ensued, concentrated his attention upon Lord Mornington's speech: "I hope that the Noble Earl," said he, "will not deem me guilty of any incivility if I say that, on this point, the last few sentences of his speech, long and eloquent as it was, were much more to the purpose and afforded more valuable information than all the rest. The Noble Lord has declared, in explicit terms, '*That while the present, or any other Jacobin Government exists in France, no propositions for peace can be made or received by us.*' Such are his remarkable words, from which we learn that while the present Government exists in France peace is impossible." Mr. Fox, contrasting the conduct of the Americans with that of the British Government, exclaimed, "Happy Americans! while the whirlwind spreads desolation over one quarter of the globe you remain protected from its baneful effects by your own virtues and the wisdom of your Government! Separated from Europe by an immense ocean, you feel not the effects of those prejudices and passions which convert the boasted seats of civilization into scenes of horror and bloodshed! You profit by the folly and madness of contending nations, and afford in your more congenial clime an asylum to those blessings and virtues which they wantonly contemn or wickedly exclude from their bosom! Cultivating the arts of peace under the influence of freedom, you advance by rapid strides to opulence and distinction; and, if by any accident, you

should be compelled to take part in the present unhappy contest; if you should find it necessary to avenge insult or repel injury, the world will bear witness to the equity of your sentiments and the moderation of your views, and the success of your arms will no doubt be proportioned to the justice of your cause."

Mr. Pitt warmly defended Lord Mornington's arguments. He said, "The speech of his noble friend had been styled declamatory; upon what principle he knew not, except that every effort of eloquence in which the most forcible reasoning was adorned and supported by all the powers of language, was to be branded with the epithet of declamation." The division which followed the debate was decisive: but fifty-seven members were found in favour of the amendment to the address moved by Mr. Fox; two hundred and seventy-seven voted for the vigorous prosecution of the war!

In looking at the French Revolution historically, we must not permit our minds to dwell too exclusively upon the atrocities and dark scenes which accompanied that grand and awful event. It was a terrific hurricane, it is true, which ruined many a fair edifice and spread terror and disaster far around; but it purified the moral and political atmosphere; and, though we may stand appalled at the marks of its fury, and look with sympathetic concern on the places and objects scathed by its "sulphurous bolts," we, of the nineteenth century, breathe the freer for it. M. Guizot, in speaking of the burst of mind, the spirit of free inquiry which formed the paramount feature of this era, has for-

cibly depicted 'the instructive fact' which was prominently displayed at that great conjuncture. "I allude," observes the philosophic statesman, "to the proof of THE DANGER, THE EVIL, THE INVETERATE VICE OF ABSOLUTE POWER, WHATEVER THAT POWER MAY BE, WHATEVER NAME IT MAY BEAR, OR TO WHATEVER END DIRECTED. We have already seen the government of Louis XVI. perish from this single cause. The power which succeeded it, the human understanding, which was the veritable ruler of the eighteenth century, underwent the same fate; it possessed an almost absolute power in its turn, and thence derived an overweening confidence in itself. *Its outbreak was glorious and useful:* and if I were called upon to give an opinion upon the general operation, I should not hesitate to declare that the eighteenth century is to me one of the greatest eras of history that, perhaps, which has rendered the most important services to humanity, which has given to it its greatest stimulus, resulting in the most universal advancement;— so that, pronouncing upon it as a public administration, if I may be allowed to use that expression, my judgment should certainly be given in its favour. Still, it is not the less true that the absolute power possessed at that epoch by the human mind, corrupted it and led it to hold contemporary facts and opinions different from those that were in chief respect, in an illegitimate disdain and aversion, which brought it into error and tyranny. So much of error and tyranny, in fact, as mingled with the triumph of human reason towards the end of the century, which we cannot conceal from ourselves nor ought to deny, was very considerable, mainly re-

sulted from the extravagance into which the human mind was thrown by the extent of its power. It is the province and will form, I believe," adds M. Guizot, "the peculiar merit of our times, *to proclaim that all human power, be it intellectual or material, vested in governments or people, in philosophers or ministers of state, and exerted in any cause whatever, bears inherently a natural viciousness and a principle of weakness and abuse which call imperatively for the prescribing fixed limits to its exercise.* Thus it is only a system of general freedom for all rights, interests, and opinions, their unfettered manifestation and legalised co-existence, that can restrain each individual power or influence within its proper limits, prevent it from infringing upon others, and make the spirit of free inquiry an actual and general enjoyment. The conflict between Material Absolute Power and Intellectual Power which occurred at the close of the eighteenth century, has impressed upon our minds this great truth."

CHAPTER V.

Earl of Mornington's Marriage.—Lady Mornington's Parentage.—Madame Roland the French Heroine.—Allusions to Lady Mornington in the Earl's Correspondence while in India.—Their Separation.—Her Ladyship's Death.—Her Children.—Lord Mornington's Speech on the Seditious Meetings Bill, 1795.—Mr. Sheridan replies.—Business of the India Board.—Lord Mornington composes a Song at the desire of Mr. Pitt for the Dinner given by the East India Company to Lord Duncan.—Camperdown.—Copy of Latin Verses descriptive of France, written by Lord Mornington for Mr. Pitt, published in the Anti-Jacobin.—Translated by Lord Morpeth in the same publication.

On the 29th of November, 1794, the Earl of Mornington was married, at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, to Mademoiselle Hyacinthe Gabrielle Roland, a native of France, and only daughter of Pierre Roland and of Hyacinthe Gabrielle Daris, of the city of Paris. This lady, whose beauty and accomplishments had for some years exercised a powerful influence over the heart of the noble Lord, seems to have possessed many of the fascinating qualities of her distinguished synonyme, Madame Roland, who was guillotined by the French Jacobins in the previous year, exclaiming on the scaffold,—"O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" Some have supposed that the Countess of Mornington was the daughter of the revolutionary heroine, and that she was the child to whom the most pathetic and affecting of farewells ever penned was addressed. This, however, was not the case: the name

of Madame Roland,* the wife of the Girondist Minister of the Interior, was Manon Philipon, not Hyacinthe Gabrielle Daris. Although the contrary has been suggested, Lord and Lady Mornington lived on terms of the utmost affectionate harmony till the period of the noble Lord's appointment as Governor-General. The Countess remained in England; but the frequent incidental allusions to her Ladyship in his Lordship's correspondence evince a continued anxiety for her happiness, and a tender regard for their children. One of their sons, it appears from a letter from Lord Auckland to the Marquess Wellesley, was at Eton in the year 1800. In December 1812, Hyacinthe Mary, their daughter, was married to Mr. Littleton, of Teddersley Park, county of Stafford—a gentleman who, during the Marquess Wellesley's viceroyalty in 1834, filled the office of Chief Secretary of Ireland, and who has since been elevated to the peerage as Viscount Hatherton. The Marquess and Marchioness of Wellesley, after the noble Lord's return from India, did not live long together: they separated, and appear not to have been again reconciled. The Marchioness lived till the year 1816, in which year she died, at the seat of her son-in-law, Mr. Littleton, in Staffordshire. Her remains were buried at Penkridge. Her Ladyship had enjoyed a separate income of 4,000*l.* a year, which at her death reverted to the Marquess. Viscountess Hatherton and her brothers, Mr. R. Wellesley and the Rev. Henry Wellesley, M.A., have survived both their parents, the elder of whom would have succeeded to the family titles, if the rules of the civil and canon law had prevailed in England.

* See Memoirs of Madame Roland. Paris, 2 vols. 8vo.

In the debate on the Seditious Meetings Bill, in November, 1795, Lord Mornington took a prominent part; vehemently denouncing the societies which met at Copenhagen House, and reading a variety of extracts from the violent and disloyal publications which at that period inundated the metropolis :—

"One passage he thought it necessary to read, as it contained a direct incitement to regicide : it was a definition of a guillotine—'an instrument,' as they called it, 'of rare invention.' 'As it is the custom to decapitate, and not to hang kings, it is proper to have this instrument ready, to make death easy to them, supposing a necessity of cutting them off. This instrument is used only for great malefactors—such as kings, bishops, and prime ministers. England and France have had their regular turns in executing their kings! France did it last,' &c. And in conclusion," added Lord Mornington, "Ankarstroem and Damiens, the two regicides,* were held up to the reverence of mankind. This, too, was from a printer—given to the public by the societies in the list of patriotic printers. ['*Name! name!*' came from all parts of the House.] Citizen Lee!" said his Lordship. "What can the House now suppose is the tendency of this pacific system—this bloodless conquest? For would it not be supposed that, instead of being the production of an Englishman, this foul, most foul treason—[*Hear*]—I do not say that, if brought for decision in the

* Ankarstroem was a Swede, who assassinated Gustavus III. at a masked-ball.—Damiens, a native of Artois, stabbed Louis XV., while stepping into his carriage at Versailles : the wound was slight, and the king recovered.

judgment of a court, it would be decided to be treason, but I will maintain that the heart that uttered it was the heart of as foul a traitor as ever raised the dagger of a parricide."

Mr. Sheridan replied to Lord Mornington :—"The noble Lord had been looking for plots with the utmost diligence, but could find none. Would the House decide the most important subject ever committed to their consideration, upon vile scraps and paltry passages from pamphlets, collected by rummaging old book-shops, and turning up the dirt of every stall in London?"

This was the last occasion upon which Lord Mornington spoke prior to his appointment as Governor-General. He appears to have confined his attention at this time almost exclusively to the business of the India Board.

In the last week of October, 1797, an entertainment was given by the East India Company to Lord Duncan, in honour of the victory of Camperdown. At the request of Mr. Pitt, Lord Mornington composed the following ballad, at Wimbledon, which was sung at the dinner, and was received with great enthusiasm by the company :—

Enrolled in our bright annals lives full many a gallant name,
But never British heart conceived a deed of prouder fame,
To shield our liberties and laws, to guard our Sovereign's crown,
Than noble Duncan's mighty arm achieved at Camperdown.

October the eleventh it was, he spyed the Dutch at nine,
The British signal flew "*To break their close embattled line*,"
Their line he broke—for every heart, on that auspicious day,
The bitter memory of the past had vowed to wipe away.*

* The Mutiny of the Fleet at the Nore happened a short time before the victory of Camperdown.

At three o'clock nine gallant ships had struck their colours proud,
And three brave Admirals at his feet their vanquished flags had bowed ;
Our Duncan's British colours streamed all glorious to the last,
For in the battle's fiercest rage, he nailed them to the mast.*

Now turning from the conquered chiefs to his victorious crew,
Great Duncan spoke, in conquest's pride to heavenly faith still true,
" Let every man now bend the knee, and here in humble prayer,†
Give thanks to God, who, in this fight, has made our cause his care."

Then on the deck, the noble field of that bright day's renown,
Brave Duncan with his gallant crew in thankful prayer knelt down,
And humbly blessed his Providence, and hailed his guardian power,
Who valour, strength and skill inspired in that dread battle's hour.

The captive Dutch the solemn scene surveyed in silent awe,
And rued the day when Holland crouched to France's impious law ;
And felt how virtue, courage, faith unite to form this land
For victory, for fame, and power, just rule, and high command.

The *Venerable* was the ship that bore his flag to fame,
Our veteran hero well becomes his gallant vessel's name,
Behold his locks ! they speak the toil of many a stormy day,‡
For fifty years, through winds and waves, he holds his dauntless way.

The subjoined verses were written at Walmer Castle in 1797, at the desire of Mr. Pitt. They were published, after Lord Mornington's departure for India, in the *Anti-Jacobin*, No. VI., December the 18th, 1797. They were very much admired at the time; and in the succeeding number of the *Anti-Jacobin*, December the 25th, a very beautiful translation of them, from the pen

* This is a fact well known at the time.

† " Lord Duncan received the swords of the three Dutch Admirals on the quarter-deck of the *Venerable;* and immediately, in their presence, ordered his crew to prayers. The scene was most animating and affecting."—*Note by Marquess Wellesley.*

‡ " Lord Duncan was of very noble and venerable appearance, with a fine complexion and long grey hair."—*Note by Lord Wellesley.*

of the present Earl of Carlisle (then Lord Morpeth) was printed :—

Ipsa mali Hortatrix scelerumque uberrima Mater
In se prima suos vertit lymphata furores,
Luetaturque diù secum, et conatibus ægris
Fessa cadit, proprioque jacet labefacta veneno.
Mox tamen ipsius rursùm violentia morbi
Erigit ardentem furiis, ultròque minantem
Spargere bella procul, vastæque incendia cladis,
Civilesque agitare faces, totumque per orbem
Sceptra super Regum et Populorum subdita colla
Ferre pedem, et sanctas Regnorum evertere sedes.
Aspicis ! Ipsa sui bacchatur sanguine Regis,
Barbaraque ostentans feralis signa triumphi,
Mole giganteâ campis prorumpit apertis,
Successu scelerum, atque insanis viribus audax.
At quà Pestis atrox rapido se turbine vertit,
Cernis ibi, priscâ morum compage solutâ,
Procubuisse solo civilis fœdera vitæ,
Et quodcunque Fides, quodcunque habet alma verendi
Religio, Pietasque et Legum frœna sacrarum.
Nec spes Pacis adhùc—necdum exsaturata rapinis
Effera Bellatrix, fusove expleta cruore.
Crescit inextinctus Furor ; atque exæstuat ingens
Ambitio, immanisque irâ Vindicta renatâ
Relliquias Soliorum et adhuc restantia Regna
Flagitat excidio, prædæque ineumbit opimæ.
Una etenim in mediis Gens intemerata ruinis
Libertate probâ, et justo libramine rerum,
Securum faustis degit sub legibus ævum ;
Antiquosque colit mores, et jura Parentum
Ordine firma suo, sanoque intacta vigore,
Servat adhuc hominumque fidem, curamque Deorum.
Heu ! quanta odiis avidoque alimenta furori !
Quanta profanatas inter spoliabitur aras
Victima ! si quando versis Victoria fatis
Annuerit seclus extremum, terrâque subactâ
Impius Oceani sceptrum fœdaverit Hostis !

CHAPTER VI.

Sir John Shore resigns the office of Governor-General of India.—Is created Lord Teignmouth.—Mysterious Proceedings relative to the Appointment of his Successor.—Lord Macartney passed over.—The Pretensions of Lord Hobart overlooked.—Appointment of Marquess Cornwallis announced.—The Appointment rescinded.—The Earl of Mornington finally appointed.—Alleged Intrigues examined.—Lord Mornington's Qualifications.—Letter of Marquess Cornwallis.—Mr. Mill's Assertion that Lord Mornington went out to India unacquainted with its Affairs —His Lordship's Experience at the India Board, his constant Communication with Mr. Dundas, Marquess Cornwallis, &c.—Arrives at the Cape.—Is received most cordially by Lord Macartney.—The Embassy to China.—Wars of Hyder Ali.—Letter and Latin Verses of Lord Macartney.—Lord Mornington meets at the Cape Lord Hobart and General Baird.—Conversations with them on the State of India.—Meets by accident Major Kirkpatrick, late Resident at the Court of Hyderabad (*i. e.* of the Nizam, Soubadahr of the Deccan).—Institutes an Inquiry into the state of the French Force in the service of the Nizam.—Danger to British Interests from the Presence of French Officers and Engineers in the Armies of the Native Princes. —Lord Mornington, while at the Cape, addresses Mr. Dundas on the French Forces employed by the Nizam, Tippoo Sultaun, &c., &c. —Thorough Knowledge of the Politics of India therein exhibited.—Observations on Mr. Mill's Reflections on Lord Mornington.—His Lordship records his Opinion of the great value of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to Great Britain.—Sails from the Cape.

EARLY in the year 1797, Sir John Shore resigned the office of Governor-General of India, and in the beginning of 1798, sailed for England, having transferred the Government to Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-chief of the Forces, and Vice-President of

the Council. Sir John Shore was the eldest son of John Shore, Esq. of Melton in the county of Suffolk. In early life he proceeded to India as a writer, and rose by the force of his own efforts, till at length he attained the high dignity of Governor-General—the powers of which office have been well said to partake of the character of those of an independent sovereign.* In 1792 he succeeded Lord Cornwallis, and was created a Baronet; he was subsequently created an Irish Peer with the title of Baron Teignmouth.

A degree of mystery hung over the appointments of several of the Governors-General prior to 1797. After the return of Mr. Warren Hastings, Lord Macartney was appointed to the office: the commission had passed the Great Seal of the Company; but from some cause, never very satisfactorily explained, his Lordship was superseded before he entered on his official duties, and the Marquess Cornwallis became Governor-General. It was generally supposed that Lord Hobart, who had gained some *éclat* by the promptitude evinced by him in the seizure of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, &c. as soon as he received intelligence of the commencement of hostilities between Holland and England, would have succeeded Lord Cornwallis,—his Lordship having actually been officially nominated as his successor on the 24th of December 1793. As we have seen, however, a civil servant of the Company, recommended by his intimate knowledge of the revenue system, (Sir J. Shore,) was preferred to him: it was said that, enjoy-

* See the Opinion of R. Ryder, Esq., of Lincoln's-inn-Fields, on a Case submitted to him as to the Legality of Major-General Wellesley's Appointment by his Brother in 1803; vol. ii.

ing honourable and affluent prospects at home, and fulfilling an office of high dignity and trust, Lord Hobart would not have left England for less than an assurance that the highest place in India was reserved for him: this perhaps was true; but the reasons which induced the authorities in Leadenhall-street and Downing-street to disappoint his Lordship's expectations, must be sought for in the motives which dictated his recal from the Government of Madras. On the resignation of Sir John Shore, Lord Cornwallis was nominated a second time to the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief! Under the circumstances, the appointment was considered an extraordinary one, and it of course gave rise to much speculation and conjecture among political circles at the time. What tended to render the matter still more mysterious was, that the Marquess Cornwallis did not act upon the commission which he had received. After an interval of doubt, and (according to those virtuous critics who are accustomed to draw unfavourable inferences from any fluctuations of counsel in cabinets) of "ministerial intrigue," it was announced by the Directors, "that various circumstances had induced the Marquess Cornwallis to resign his appointments;" and that "under circumstances and for reasons of a peculiar nature," the Earl of Mornington had been appointed Governor-General. The truth appears to be this: Lord Teignmouth was desirous of enjoying his newly-acquired honours at home; Lord Hobart, who had been involved in some unpleasant altercations with the Supreme Government and the Court of Directors, was not an acceptable person to the Company; and

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas clearly saw that the exigencies of the times required greater energies than Lord Cornwallis was then capable of bringing to bear on the Government of India.*

Lord Mornington was appointed Governor-General of India on the 4th of October, 1797; and, having been raised to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, with the title of Baron Wellesley, Earl of Mornington in the peerage of Ireland, sailed from England on the 7th of November following. It has been asserted by Mr. Mill, that his Lordship "had possessed but little time for acquainting himself with the complicated affairs of India, when all his attention was attracted to a particular point." But little time for acquainting himself!—No assertion could possibly have been more groundless. Lord Mornington had been an active and indefatigable member of the Board of Control from 1794 to the time of his being sworn as Governor-General; he had acquired a thorough knowledge of all the details of the Indian Government, under the able direction of Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville.) Every document connected with our Indian empire during that eventful period, must have come under his observation: he was on terms of inti-

* In a letter written by Lord Cornwallis to the Earl of Mornington, dated, Dublin Castle, March 18th, 1798, his Lordship says: "My dear Lord—I little thought when we parted, that my first letter to you would have been dated from this place; but my evil stars have determined that I never should enjoy quiet or comfort, and after relieving me from what I then thought a painful task (a second embarkation to India), have driven me into a situation ten times more arduous, and in every respect more intolerable." It is painful to reflect that this aged nobleman was induced again to go out to India in 1805,—there to sink under his accumulated cares and infirmities.

macy with Marquess Cornwallis; and as a member of the Government in 1793, had necessarily acquainted himself with the whole case of India, so frequently discussed on the renewal of the Company's charter in that year. It is quite obvious, that Lord Mornington possessed unusual facilities for gaining an intimate knowledge of the empire that it was his destiny to rule over; and it was owing to the rare combination of talents of the first order with thorough information as to the condition of India, that Mr. Pitt and his colleagues reposed such entire confidence in his Lordship.

Lord Mornington arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in the month of February, 1798, and had the good fortune to meet there some persons peculiarly well able to afford him an insight into the affairs of India. Lord Macartney, who had filled the office of Governor of Madras during the second war of Hyder Ali, and who had himself been nominated to the post of Governor-General, was at this time at the head of the Government at the Cape, and received Lord Mornington with the utmost friendship and hospitality.* Lord Hobart, who had just been recalled from the Government of Madras, was then also at the Cape of Good Hope on his return from India; and the gallant Major-General David Baird, who had been a captive in the dungeons of Seringapatam, and a victim of the relentless hatred of Tippoo Sultaun to the English, had arrived but a few weeks previously at that settlement. Lord

* In a letter written from his seat in Ireland to the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Macartney (whose celebrated embassy to Pekin, in 1793, will not be forgotten by the reader) sends the Governor-General a spe-

Mornington was extremely anxious to obtain from General Baird whatever information he could with respect to the state of India when he quitted it; and General Baird, with his characteristic openness, gave his Excellency all the details of which he was in possession, as well as his views and opinions upon the facts and circumstances connected with them.* What the tenor of Baird's observations respecting Tippoo Sultaun was, may be gathered from a letter written by him, the 29th of August, 1797, from Wallajahbad to General Gordon, in which he communicates the fact that Tippoo had collected a very large army and seventy pieces of artillery in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam; adding, "It is reported that he expects to be supported from France."

While the Governor-General was at the Cape of Good Hope, the ship *Houghton* touched there, on her way

cimen of his Latin composition: "I have placed," says Lord Macartney, "an inscription over my gateway, which, if you will allow me the authority of Ausonius for the quantity of one adverb (*ferè*), I will venture to submit to the rigour of your prosody:—

Sub Libertate Quieti,
Hos avitos agros, has ædes auctas et ornatas,
D. D. D.
Georgius Comes de Macartney,
In patriam redux, Anno salutis, 1800.

Erin nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
Hausimus, Europæque plagas ferè visimus omnes,
Nec latuit regio primùm patefacta Columbo.
Sinarum licuit dextram tetigisse Tyranni,
Tartaricos montes, murum et transcendere magnum,
Turbidaque impavidi tentavimus alta Pechelæ.
Casibus et variis acti terrâque marique
Sistimus hic tandem, atque lares veneramur Avorum.

* Hook.

from Calcutta. She had on board a packet, addressed to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. With his characteristic decision, Lord Mornington resolved to open this packet, in order to gain early intelligence of the actual state of things in the Peninsula. "I had learnt," observes his Lordship, in his dispatch to the Secret Committee, explaining the circumstance, "by vague reports, the outline of the grave events which have happened in Oude—the apprehensions entertained of the return of Zemaun Shah towards the frontiers of that province, the several movements of Tippoo Sultaun, and the sudden suspension of the expedition embarked for the attack of Manilla. It appeared to me," adds his Lordship, "on every ground to be an indispensable article of my duty to obtain as speedily as possible the most authentic account of events so deeply affecting the interests committed to my charge, and of which any false impression might render me less equal to the execution of my public trust." In addition to all these facts, which tend to negative the statement of Mr. Mill—that when Lord Mornington entered upon the duties of government, he was possessed of but little information on the complicated affairs of India—we must not overlook the circumstance that his brother, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, who had joined his regiment at the Cape, in September, 1796, had been a year and three months in India prior to Lord Mornington's arrival, and had no doubt communicated the result of his observations made in Bengal and Madras to his Lordship.

By accident, also, Lord Mornington found at the Cape Major Kirkpatrick, lately Resident at the Court

of Hyderabad, and formerly at the Court of Scindiah,* an intelligent officer, who had repaired to the Cape on account of his health, which had been affected by the climate of India. To Major Kirkpatrick the Governor-General proposed a number of queries respecting the European officers, and the corps commanded by them, in the service of the Nizam.† These queries and the report of Major Kirkpatrick, are printed at length, with one or two omissions that shall be adverted to hereafter, in his Lordship's dispatches : they bear internal evidence of Lord Mornington's industry and zeal in acquiring information upon all the details of Indian affairs. It is, perhaps, not too much to say, that if Mr. Mill had had the advantage of perusing the remarkable letter written from the Cape of Good Hope in February, 1798, to Lord Melville,‡ he would have retracted the aspersions cast upon Lord Mornington in his great, but somewhat prejudiced, History of India. That letter has been aptly described as a state paper, which will bear a comparison with any in the world for sound and enlarged views of complicated politics.§ An extract from this document is absolutely necessary to an accurate knowledge of the state of India in 1798. A perusal of it will enable the reader to see at a glance the immense amount of French influence then at work to disturb the British

* Scindiah was the family name of a great Mahratta Chief, Jaghiredar of the empire, but afterwards independent. His territory was in Malwah and his capital Ougein.

† Nizam is the name given to the Soubahdar of the Deccan, reigning over a large portion of territory between the Wurda, Godavery and Kistna Rivers. His capital is Hyderabad.

‡ Wellesley Despatches, vol. i. § Alison.

interests in the East, and to estimate the importance of effecting instantaneously the destruction of the French subsidiary force at Hyderabad, and the restoration of British influence at the Court of the Nizam, and in the Mahratta empire. This letter was addressed from the Cape of Good Hope, 23rd of February, 1798, to the President of the Board of Control :—

"It appears that the Nizam had recently, at different periods, retained in his service, exclusive of our detachment, three distinct corps of sepoys, under the command of European or American officers : one commanded by a Frenchman named Raymond, another by an American of the name of Boyd, and a third by an Irishman of the name of Finglass, for some time a quarter-master in the 19th regiment of dragoons.

"The corps of Boyd and Finglass were taken into the service of the Nizam during the residence of Azim ul Omra at Poonah, at the suggestion of our Resident at that Court, acting under the sanction of the Government of Bengal. This measure was taken by our Resident, and by that Government, principally with a view of forming a counterpoise to the corps of Raymond. Boyd's corps consisted of about 1800 men ; it is no longer in the service of the Nizam, and has probably passed into that of the Mahrattas. Finglass's corps still remains at Hyderabad, but consists of only one battalion of about 800 men. Both these corps appeared to be well affected to our interests, as may be judged by their willingness to assist our detachment in repelling an expected attack from the corps of Raymond. The corps of Raymond had been in the service of the Nizam before the last war with

Tippoo Sultaun, and in 1792 its strength was not more than 1500 men, at the highest estimation; at the battle of Khurdlah, in 1795, its strength amounted to no less than 11,000 men; it now consists of 10,000 men, and the order has actually been given for augmenting it to the number of 14,000 men. Attached to this corps is a train of artillery of about thirty field pieces, and a troop of eighty native dragoons. The discipline of the corps does not appear to be by any means good, and accordingly it has never yet rendered any distinguished service in the field. The pay of the corps is now secured by the assignment of a large district of country, part of which borders the Carnatic; at this particular station is a fortified post, and constant communication is maintained between it and the port of Narpilly, as well as with Ongole and other parts of the territories of the Company, and of the Nabob of Arcot. The corps is recruited in the proportion of one-third of its total numbers, from our territories, and from those of the Nabob of Arcot, and partly from deserters abandoning our service. The chief officers are Frenchmen, of the most virulent and notorious principles of Jacobinism; and the whole corps constitutes an armed French party, of great zeal, diligence, and activity. The efforts of this party are continually directed to the object of magnifying the power, resources, and success of France in the eyes of the Court of Hyderabad, and of depreciating the character, force, and credit of Great Britain by every possible means.

"The detachment of this corps stationed on our frontier has been very assiduous with great success in

seducing from their duty our Sepoys quartered in the neighbourhood—a considerable desertion lately took place in one of our native regiments on its march from Masulipatam to the southward, and many of the deserters on that occasion are to be found in Raymond's corps. No positive proof has yet appeared of a direct correspondence between the leaders of this corps and the French Government, but it seems to be unquestionably certain that they communicate with Tippoo Sultaun, and with the French corps in his service. Whatever may be the discipline or military skill of this corps, it now forms by far the most considerable part of the Nizam's military establishment. In this corps consists the main strength of the army of our ally ; and it possesses the influence which usually belongs to an army in the councils of the native princes of India. This influence seems to have alarmed Azim ul Omra, the first minister of the Nizam ; neither the origin nor the subsequent augmentations of this corps appear to have been at all connected with any hostile dispositions in the Court of Hyderabad towards the British interests. The institution of the corps proceeded from an admiration of the successful policy of Mahdajee Scindiah, and the subsequent augmentation was directed principally if not solely against the Mahrattas. There is reason to believe that the orders lately given for a further increase of the corps to the number of 14,000 men, arose from a desire in the mind of Azim ul Omra of drawing us into a more intimate connection with the Nizam, by exciting our jealousy of the growing influence of the French party at Hyderabad.

"Such is the state of the leading facts communicated by Major Kirkpatrick. The result in my mind is a decided opinion that the continuance, and still more the further growth of the corps of Raymond ought to be prevented by every means within our power, consistent with the respect due to the Court of Hyderabad, and with the general principles of moderation and justice, which ought to form the rule of our conduct in India. The dangers to be apprehended from the existence of this corps, are not to be estimated by a consideration of its actual state of discipline, or even of its actual numbers, or degree of present influence over the councils of the Nizam. I consider it as the basis of a French party in India, on which, according to the opportunities of fortune and the variation of events, the activity of the enemy may found a strength of the most formidable kind either in peace or war. If we are to look to the settlement of peace; can it be possible to provide a more ready channel for the intrigues of France, than would be offered by the existence of a body of 10,000 men, united by military discipline, and stationed in the dominions of one of our principal allies, and on the borders of our own? If the war is to continue in Europe without extending to the continent of India in the first instance, the danger of French intrigue acting with such an instrument as I have described, would be greatly aggravated. But if the war should extend to the continent of India, and if we should be under the necessity of calling forth the strength of our allies to assist us in any contest with Tippoo, what assistance could we expect from the Nizam, the main body of whose army would be officered

by Frenchmen, or the agents of France, and the correspondents of Tippoo himself. In such a situation it would be difficult to determine whether our danger would be greater from an entire desertion of our cause by the Court of Hyderabad, or from our acceptance of the only species of support which its military force could offer us in the field. But I confess I carry my opinion upon this subject still farther. I have no doubt that the natural effect of the unchecked and rapid growth of such a party at the Court of one of our principal allies must be in a very short period to detach that Court entirely from our interests, and finally to fix it in those of our enemies, to subject its councils to their control, and its military establishments to their direction. However despicable the corps of Raymond may now be in point of discipline or effect in the field, would it be wise to leave such a large body of men in readiness to receive whatever improvements the ability, assiduity and zeal of the French officers, sent from Europe for that express purpose, might introduce into the constitution of a corps, so prepared by correspondent principles and objects to meet the most sanguine expectations of their new leaders? Under these circumstances, the corps which perhaps now has little more efficiency than that of a political party, might soon become, in the hands of our enemy, as efficient a military force, as it is now in that view wholly useless, either to the Nizam or to us. I desire to add one more consideration; must not the continuance of such a corps in the service of an ally tend to raise the hopes of Tippoo, and in the same proportion to disparage us in the eyes of all the native

princes of India? That it has tended to encourage Tippoo I have no doubt, and his correspondence with the leaders of the corps will sufficiently show in what light he views them. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this part of the subject, where the proof of the weak policy of suffering such an evil as I have described to increase without check or disturbance, seems to require no labour of argument." * * * *

"The fourth proposition contained in Major Kirkpatrick's paper, is that to which I wish to call your most particular attention. The desire of the Court of Hyderabad to obtain from us an increase of our detachment now serving the Nizam, and also an extension of the power of employing the force furnished by us, has appeared on several occasions, and you will find allusions to this disposition in the last secret dispatches from Bengal. There seems to be no objection to the first part of this proposition, provided our consent to it shall secure to us equivalent concessions on the part of the Nizam. In another letter, which I shall forward to you, on the general subject of the political state of India in the present moment, you will find my reasons for entertaining an opinion that it would be a wise policy for us to check by timely aid the rapid declension of the Nizam's weight among the powers of Hindostan. This could be done in no manner so effectual or unobjectionable as by furnishing him with a large increase of our force now in his pay; the pay of the augmented force to be secured in the manner best calculated to prevent future discussion and embarrassment. In granting this force to the Nizam, we ought not

only to stipulate for the disbanding of Raymond's corps, but we ought to take care that the officers should be immediately sent out of India. There are, perhaps, other points which, on this occasion, might be obtained from the Court of Hyderabad. The great difficulty which would obstruct such an arrangement would be, that the Nizam would probably be unwilling to part with Raymond's corps, which he has the power of employing against any enemy, unless he could obtian powers equally extensive with respect to the employment of any force furnished by us. You are aware that the British detachment now in the pay of the Nizam is not only restricted from acting against the Mahrattas in any possible case, but also from acting against certain Polygars, tributary both to the Mahrattas and to the Nizam,—and even from passing, without a formal permission, certain parts of the Mahratta territory which are intermixed with the dominions of the Nizam. The object of the Court of Hyderabad would of course be, to obtain our guarantee of its possession generally against the Mahrattas, accompanied with the assistance of a large force, to be employed with the same extensive powers as now apply to the corps of Raymond. For this object, I have little doubt that the Nizam would sacrifice the whole French party at his court, and even the *peiscush* * now paid by us on account of the northern Circars.† But such an alteration of our connection with the Nizam would naturally raise the jealousy of the Mahratta powers, and might involve us in discussions of a very disagree-

* Tribute, fine, quit-rent on the stipulated revenue.

† Circar here means government.

able nature, if not in a war with them. The result, therefore, of this view of the subject would lead us to inquire whether some arrangement might not be framed, founded on a modification of the views of the Court of Hyderabad, and comprehending certain favourite objects of the Mahratta States, which, while it secured for us the destruction of the French party at Hyderabad, should tend to restore to the Nizam his due weight among the Indian powers, without exciting the animosity of the Mahrattas against the British Government.

"It appears to me that the only effectual mode of eradicating the French party at Hyderabad, would be to furnish to the Nizam such a force as should be just equivalent to Raymond's corps; considering the superior discipline of our sepoys, I believe that 3000 men under British command, not only would be, but would be deemed by the Court of Hyderabad, a force fully equal to that of Raymond in its present state. The instruction by which our detachment is prevented from acting as the troops of the Mahrattas and of the Nizam now act against the Polygars, who pay joint tribute to the two powers, might probably be removed by a full previous explanation with the Mahrattas; as that restriction does not appear to be founded on any solid principle, nor could the removal of it open the way to any real inconvenience or danger to the interests of the Mahratta State.

"The power of mutually passing their intermixed boundaries is now constantly exercised by the troops, both of the Mahrattas and of the Nizam; and there is no reason to suppose that a formal permission would have

been refused to our detachment for the same purpose, had it ever been demanded. But the Nizam never would allow any application to be made for a permission to do that which he held to be his right, and which was constantly done without question both by his own army and by that of Poonah. It is very improbable that we should find great difficulty in engaging the Mahrattas to place our detachment, in this respect, on a footing with the other branches of the Nizam's military force, and with their own; nor can I foresee any tenable ground of argument on which this point could be maintained against us.

" The settlement of these two points only, would, I understand, be considered as a great acquisition by the Nizam, and would go a great way towards inducing him to substitute a British force in the room of Raymond's corps.

" The third point is of much more importance, and of much greater delicacy and danger; I speak of the desire of the Court of Hyderabad to obtain our guarantee of their possessions against the Mahrattas as well as against Tippoo, together with a right of employing defensively the troops furnished by us against the former, as well as against the latter of these powers. This point, perhaps, might be reconciled with the interests of the Mahrattas, if it were thought prudent to enter into similar engagements with them, or, in other words, to guarantee their possessions against any attack from the Nizam. The effect of such an engagement with both powers would be to place us in the situation of arbitrators between them; and perhaps their mutual apprehensions of our interposition in the

case of any aggression on either side, might tend to restrain the resentment and ambition of both. In this view, such a system of treaty with the Mahrattas and with the Nizam, so far from being liable to the objection of an undue interference in the disputes of the native powers of India, or of that description of officiousness and intriguing spirit which tends to foment divisions, and to occasion war, might be deemed the best security for the maintenance of the peace of India, as well as the strongest pledge of our disposition to preserve it from disturbance. It would also tend to preserve unimpaired the strength and resources of the two powers on whose co-operation we must depend for assistance against any future attempt on the part of Tippoo: it cannot be a wise policy to suffer the Nizam and the Mahrattas to weaken themselves by repeated contests, while Tippoo remains at rest; and any measure deserves attention, the tendency of which is to restore to the Mahrattas and to the Nizam their relative consideration and power as they stood at the conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam.

"You will find by the last secret dispatches from India, that some opening has been given for our arbitration in settling the disputes between the several Mahratta chiefs, and that the Government of Bengal has agreed to undertake the mediation proposed, under the condition of a previous formal agreement, signed by all the parties, binding themselves to accept our award as final and conclusive upon their respective claims. If any such proceeding should take place, it will give a natural opening to such further engagements as may appear advisable.

"The same dispatches will inform you of the anxiety of the Mahrattas to obtain our agreement to a general defensive treaty against Zemaun Shah. The Government of Bengal have postponed the consideration of this proposition to a period of time which, I confess, I should think the most unfavourable for the examination of this difficult question, and still more unseasonable for the negotiation of a treaty with such a power as the Mahratta States; this period of time is no other than the moment when Zemaun Shah shall again approach the frontiers of Hindostan. Without giving any decisive opinion on the wisdom of entering into the treaty proposed, I shall certainly think it my duty, upon my arrival in India, to proceed without the delay of one moment to the examination and decision of the proposal made by the Mahrattas: if it should appear expedient to engage with them in a defensive system against the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah, there is no doubt that such a measure would tend greatly to reconcile to them any propositions which we might wish to offer with respect to the arrangements at the Court of Hyderabad.

"The inclination of my opinion at present rather leads me to think that a general defensive alliance between all the existing powers of Hindostan (Tippoo perhaps alone excepted) against the expected invasion of Zemaun Shah, would not only be the best security against the success of such an invasion, if attempted, but might have the effect of deterring that Prince from an undertaking which must end in his own disappointment and ruin, if our Government in India and our allies do not neglect to make seasonable preparations

of defence. If a treaty can be formed at an early period, so as to unite the Mahratta powers with us in a cordial and systematic plan of vigorous opposition to the supposed projects of Zemaun Shah, without binding us to advance farther from our own frontiers than the real exigency of the case may appear to demand upon his approach, I should think such a treaty a solid acquisition of strength in the present critical situation of India. You will observe from this detail, that I consider the fourth measure suggested by Major Kirkpatrick to be the only one from which it is reasonable to hope that the effectual destruction of the French army at Hyderabad can be accomplished; but that I view that measure as connected with considerations of the most serious nature, and involving consequences of the utmost delicacy and importance. I have laid before you the whole train of my thoughts on this subject, as I shall think it my duty to do on every question affecting those interests which I know to be not only highly valuable in your estimation, but the most particular and anxious objects of your unremitting solicitude and care. I will conclude this long letter by stating the precise questions on which I wish to receive your instructions, and by submitting to you the plan of measures which I purpose to pursue with relation to this subject in the interval which must elapse before I can receive your opinion.

"In the first place, I wish to be informed whether you think a closer connection than at present subsists between us and the Nizam advisable for our interests on general grounds, provided such a change of our

engagements with the Nizam can be rendered acceptable to the Mahrattas.

"Secondly: Whether you would approve of our entering into treaties with both the Mahrattas and the Nizam, guaranteeing the dominions of each power respectively against the aggression of the other.

"Thirdly: Whether you would approve of our taking measures for acting in concert with Azim ul Omra in support of the succession of Secunder Jah, the eldest son of the Nizam? whether we should endeavour to obtain the co-operation of the Mahrattas in securing this succession? and what should be our conduct, if the Mahrattas should differ from us in the choice of the successor to the Nizam?

"Fourthly: Whether you would approve of a general defensive treaty against any invasion from Zemaun Shah, and what limitations would you propose to the powers which the other allies might require of employing our troops beyond our own frontiers?

"You will observe that the determination of all these questions is necessary, in my view of the subject, in order to enable me to carry into effect the only measure which I can rely upon as a sufficient check to the growth of the French interest at the Court of Hyderabad, and as a permanent barrier against any future revival of that interest in the same quarter.

"But I am aware that I cannot receive your opinions for a long time. In that interval circumstances may compel me to decide some of these important questions upon my own judgment: my wish however is, to reserve them all for yours; and with this view, I propose

to pursue a system of measures which, while it shall leave all the most delicate parts of the situation of affairs in India open to your decision, shall tend to check, in some degree, the progress of the French party at Hyderabad, and to furnish me with such materials as shall enable me to form a competent opinion of the effects to be expected from any decision of the point reserved for your judgment.

"I propose to direct the Resident at Hyderabad to suffer no augmentation of Raymond's corps to take place, if it can be prevented by the strongest and most pointed representations. This step may probably check the increase of the corps, although from this step alone I cannot hope for its final annihilation.

"I mean also to direct that any proposal from the Nizam's ministers for an increase of our detachment shall be favourably received, and I shall increase the detachment accordingly, on the first practicable occasion; but I shall stipulate that for every man we grant, there shall be a proportional reduction made in Raymond's corps. This proportion shall be calculated upon the relative estimation of our sepoys (in the opinion of the ministers of the Nizam themselves) when compared with Raymond's corps; and I believe, that on this ground, I shall not find it difficult to contend that a reduction of 3000 men should be made for every 1000 men granted by us. In reducing the army of Raymond, I shall endeavour, in the first instance, to disband the most obnoxious and dangerous officers with their corps. I have reason to believe that I may be able to effect this species of partial reduction of Raymond's corps without entering upon

any of the difficult points involved in the general questions stated in the letter. In the meanwhile, however, I shall direct the Resident at Poonah, and with Scindiah, to ascertain as speedily as possible the views and dispositions of those powers with respect to the same points, and especially with respect to any alteration of our connection with the Nizam, to his eventual successor, and to the proposed defensive engagements against Zemaun Shah.

"In submitting the whole of this extensive subject to your consideration, I have been obliged to leave many parts of it open to doubt, for want of the information which may be expected from the Residents with Scindiah, and at Poonah; I believe, however, that it will not be difficult for you to answer the questions which I have proposed, forming your answers in such a manner as may admit of any variation of opinion, which the information from those Courts may require.

"The state of the military establishments of the Mahratta powers did not properly come under Major Kirkpatrick's view; and I propose to transmit to the Residents at Poonah, and with Scindiah, a copy of my questions to Major Kirkpatrick, with such alterations as the several cases may require, in order to obtain for you a full statement of the corps disciplined by Europeans or Americans in the service of the Mahrattas. I am at present able to give you no fuller information on this part of the subject, than that Scindiah employs about 20,000 sepoys, disciplined by Europeans or Americans. The commander is named Perron, a Frenchman; most of the officers are British subjects. The discipline of this corps is said to be superior to

that of Raymond's, but the disposition of its officers to be much more favourable to the British than to the French interests. This was De Boigne's corps, whose history you probably know. De Boigne was lately in London; if he should not have left it, he can give you the fullest information of the state of Scindiah's army.

"There was a small corps of about 2000 men, commanded by European officers, in the service of the Peishwah,* and another of about the same number, in that of Tuckagee Holkar; they are both inconsiderable, if they still exist, and the dissensions which have broken out between Holkar's two sons since the death of their father, have left that branch of the Mahratta power in a situation from which little danger is to be apprehended. There is a fourth corps, commanded by a Frenchman, of the name of D'Agincourt, in the service of Azim ul Dowlah, at Hyderabad. This corps is paid by the state. It consists of 1500 men. The commander is a determined Jacobin.

"The Rajah of Berar† is said to have a corps in his service commanded by British officers; it is said to consist of above 2000 men."

Mr. Mill remarks that "Lord Mornington arrived at Calcutta on the 17th of May, 1798, *carrying out with*

* Peishwah. Literally *the first*. The chief magistrate of the Mahratta Empire, nominally under the Rajah of Sattarah, but usurping his authority. His capital and seat of government at Poonah. The names and titles of the Peishwah in 1803 were Sreemunt Bajee Rao, Ragonaut Rao, Pundit Purdhaun.—(*Gurwood.*)

† Berar is a country of the Eastern Mahrattas. The chief town is Ellichpoor.

him a mind more than usually inflamed with the ministerial passions then burning in England; and in a state peculiarly apt to be seized both with dread and with hatred of any power that was French." But after a perusal of the facts so lucidly stated by Lord Mornington's own pen, who will venture to assert that his Lordship did else than fulfil his duty to his country in the measures which he adopted after his arrival in Bengal, or deny that those measures were demanded by wisdom and prudence, for the preservation of our very existence as a nation in India ?

Before quitting the Cape of Good Hope, Lord Mornington placed on record* his opinions relative to the value of that important settlement,—which it is to be hoped will long continue to influence the sentiments of British statesmen. Before his arrival at the Cape, he had formed a very high estimate of the intrinsic value of the place as a colony ; but he confessed that he had not sufficiently appreciated its vast utility with reference to the defence of our trade to the East, and of our territories in the East Indies. As a depôt for the maintenance of a military force in such a state of health as to be able to encounter at once all the inconveniences of an Indian climate, he considered the Cape to be invaluable ; as a naval station he looked upon it as still more important. With the Cape in the hands of an enemy, his Lordship considered it would be impossible to maintain our Indian trade or empire ; its occupation by any other power than England would render it difficult, if not impossible, for us to retain the island of Ceylon for any long period of time. Notwith-

* See Wellesley Dispatches, vol. i. p. 31.

standing the statesman-like views and arguments of the Earl of Mornington, backed by the opinions of Lord Macartney, and every person informed on the subject, Englishmen, and responsible advisers of the Crown, consented at the peace of Amiens, to surrender up this noble bulwark of our Eastern trade and empire! The establishment of steam on the Red Sea, and the opening of an overland route for the mail and for passengers *viâ* Egypt, have of late, in some degree, tended to cast our colony at the Cape of Good Hope into the shade; but it should never be forgotten that its intrinsic value to England is the same now that it ever was, and that it is the duty of our rulers to sustain and protect it by every legitimate means,—for every consideration urged by Lord Mornington respecting the Cape still remains in full force.

CHAPTER VII.

Lord Mornington, accompanied by Mr. Henry Wellesley (Lord Cowley), arrives at Madras—Received by General Harris.—Letter of King George III., introducing Lord Mornington to the Nabob of Arcot.—Letter of the Prince Regent.—Interviews and Negotiation with the Nabob.—Lord Mornington's Habit of Observation.—Estimate which he formed of the various Servants of the Company at the Presidency.—Sails from Madras.—Arrival at Calcutta.—Reflections on that Event. Magnitude of the Empire committed to his Charge.—The Career of the East India Company.—Beautiful Scenery of Calcutta.—Poetical Description of an Evening in Bengal.—Sir Alured Clarke received Lord Mornington at Fort William.—His Lordship at once enters upon the Duties of his Office.

On the 26th of April,* 1798, Lord Mornington first beheld the "coral strand" of the coast of Coromandel. On that day he anchored in the roads of Madras; and after the excitement of a passage through the surf which perpetually rages on these romantic shores, placed his foot upon the soil of India, and was saluted by the guns of Fort St. George. His Lordship was accompanied by his younger brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley,† in the capacity of confidential secretary,—a gentleman

* Mr. Lushington, in his interesting Memoir of Lord Harris, gives the 22nd of May as the date; but though he was an eye-witness of Lord Mornington's arrival at Madras, the dates of Lord Mornington's letters evidently prove that the above was the time of his Lordship's arrival—a day, as Mr. Lushington observes, "ever to be remembered in the annals of British India."

† The present Lord Cowley, now ambassador at the court of France.

who had already exhibited his talents as secretary to the British Embassy at Stockholm, and afterwards as secretary to Lord Malmesbury during the delicate but fruitless negotiations of that nobleman with the French Directory for peace, in the year 1796. The Governor-General was welcomed by General Harris, the Commander-in-chief of the Presidency, then provisionally charged with the Government of Madras. On the very day after his arrival, Lord Mornington proceeded to open communications with the wily Nabob of Arcot, the sovereign of the Carnatic, a strip of fertile country about seventy-five miles in width, east of the kingdom of Mysore,* between the Ghauts and the sea ;—whose capital was situated seventy-three miles from Madras, and in one of whose houses in the city of Madras, General Harris had placed the Governor-General. On the 28th of April, Lord Mornington had a personal interview with the Nabob ; and then presented to him the annexed letters from the King and the Prince of Wales, which afford at once honourable testimony of the high estimation in which Lord Mornington was then held by his Sovereign, as well as of the anxious desire of the English Government to avoid the extreme step which the Nabob's own folly and treachery subsequently rendered necessary :—

GEORGE III. TO THE NABOB OF ARCOT.

"George the Third, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the

* This country lies to the south of the Deccan ; it was conquered from the Hindoos by Hyder Ali.

Christian Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch-Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c.—To his Highness the Nawaub Omdal-ul Omrah Mayeen ul Mulk, Assad-ud Dowlah, Hussein Ally Cawn Bahawdar Zulfatter Tung Sepah Surdan, Sovereign of the Carnatic, Payenghaut, and Ballanghaut.

"Your Highness's letter of the 19th of March, 1796, has been safely delivered to us by our faithful servant Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, and we are convinced your Highness will learn with pleasure that, in order to give this excellent officer a proof of our entire satisfaction with the services he had rendered to our Crown, to your Highness, and to the East India Company, during his command in India, we have conferred upon him a mark of our Royal favour by raising him to the dignity of the peerage in our kingdom of Ireland.

"The happiness we at all times derive from your Highness's friendly correspondence, has been on this occasion deeply affected on observing the differences which appear to exist between your Highness and our faithful servant Lord Hobart, who, whatever momentary inconvenience your Highness may have experienced from his conduct, we are confident could be actuated by no other motive than an anxious desire to ensure the permanent welfare and honour of your Highness, and the happiness and prosperity of your people.

"These important considerations we well know to be also the grounds of your Highness's conduct, and we earnestly recommend to you to be assured, that the counsels of our Ministers at home, and the wishes of

the East India Company and its servants, are ever directed to these objects.

" The East India Company has appointed our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and councillor, Richard, Earl of Mornington, in our kingdom of Ireland, Baron Wellesley in our Kingdom of Great Britain, and Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, to be Governor-General in India.

" Our experience of his conciliatory temper, and many eminent virtues and abilities in various offices he has held for many years under our Crown, induced us to recommend him to this high and important station. These distinguished qualities are so many pledges to us, that the exercise of the power vested in him will be such as to conciliate your Highness's entire confidence and esteem, and that your Highness will endeavour on all occasions to cultivate his friendship and good will, by co-operating with him in all his salutary views for the happiness of your Highness, and of your subjects, and for strengthening and confirming the engagements of amity and union subsisting between your Highness and the East India Company.

" From our experience of the felicity derived from our constant paternal love and care of all our subjects, we are persuaded your Highness will best promote your individual happiness and tranquillity, by showing yourself on all occasions just, benevolent, and merciful to all those whom the Almighty has placed under your protection, by calling to His presence your august father, His former servant.

" This line of conduct, an inviolable fidelity in all

your engagements, and an unreserved confidence in, and support of, the measures the wisdom of the Earl of Mornington may suggest, cannot fail to ensure to your Highness the continuance of the most sincere friendship on the part of the East India Company, and of our alliance and protection.

"We embrace this opportunity of informing your Highness that, on the 11th of this month, one of our fleets obtained a most brilliant and decisive victory over the grand fleet of Holland, of which more than half was taken and is brought into our ports. An event so glorious to our arms, and of such importance to the security of all our possessions, and of India in particular, will, we are persuaded, afford your Highness great satisfaction.

"We have only further to assure you of the lively interest we take in everything that concerns your Highness, and the happiness we at all times feel when your Highness's friendly letters are delivered into our hands. "And so we bid you farewell.

"G. R."

A letter from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the same sovereign was entrusted to the Earl of Mornington :—

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE NABOB OF ARCOT.

"Carlton House, October 14, 1797.

"The Nobleman who will deliver this letter to your Highness, it is with the greatest satisfaction I inform you, is a particular friend of my own—he is justly

celebrated for his great talents ; and his private character being that of honour, moderation, and mildness, must necessarily recommend him to the confidence and good opinion of your Highness.

" I could say much more upon this subject, but when I acquaint you that his Majesty had previously bestowed upon him the most eminent marks of royal favour, I am sure it must be deemed useless to suggest any other proof how acceptable such a nomination must be to the interests of your Highness.

" I shall conclude with expressing a hope that your Highness may long continue to enjoy that health and prosperity to which your exalted rank and character entitles you. " I am your affectionate friend,

" G. P. W."

The Court of Directors in a dispatch to the President in Council at Fort St. George, dated the 18th of October, 1797, say, " We have requested Lord Mornington to make a short stay at Madras previous to his proceeding to take upon himself the Government-General in Bengal, for the purpose of endeavouring to prevail on the Nabob of Arcot to agree to a modification of the treaty with his Highness in 1792. It were," add the Directors, " to be wished that the zealous endeavours of Lord Hobart for that purpose, had proved successful ; and as, in our opinion, nothing short of the modification proposed is likely to answer any beneficial purpose, Lord Mornington will render a most essential service to the Company should he be able to accomplish that object, or an arrangement similar thereto. But feeling as we do the necessity of maintaining our credit with

the country powers, by an exact observance of treaties, —a principle so honourably established under Lord Cornwallis's administration,—we cannot authorise his Lordship to exert other powers than those of persuasion to induce the Nabob to form a new arrangement."

The remarkable ability displayed by Lord Mornington in his discussions and negotiations with the Nabob of Arcot at Madras, inspired General Harris, and those who witnessed the proceedings, with the highest respect for the commanding talents of the Governor-General,* and at once convinced them that the affairs of the East were now placed under the ascendant control of a master mind. His expostulations with the Nabob, however, were in vain. The leaven of the old French settlement of Pondicherry, on the sea-coast of his dominions, was still at work in the Carnatic; and the Nabob had not yet been taught effectually to fear a Government that he had seen humbled by Hyder Ali, and threatened with destruction at the gates of the capital of the Presidency, by his powerful neighbour and confidential correspondent, Tippoo Sultaun. The Governor-General communicates the result of his negotiations with the Nabob, in a secret letter written from Fort William to Lord Clive, soon after the arrival of that nobleman at Madras to assume the government of the Presidency. "Your Lordship will have learnt, previously to your departure from Europe, that I was charged by the Court of Directors to attempt, by means of persuasion and advice, to induce his Highness, the Nabob of the Carnatic, to agree to the same modification of the treaty of 1792, which had been proposed

* Lushington.

to him by Lord Hobart. General Harris, and Mr. Lushington, who acted as my interpreter, will state to your Lordship the means which I employed to endeavour to accomplish the object of my commission—in which I entirely failed; I was equally unsuccessful in my endeavours to prevail upon his Highness to make provision for the liquidation of any part of his debt to the Company. I am persuaded that it will ever be wholly impracticable to induce his Highness the Nabob (by means of conciliation) to surrender the management of any part of his country into the hands of the Company; and I am satisfied that *any other means* would be as foreign to your Lordship's disposition as they are to mine. My fixed rule, during my continuance at Madras, was, to treat the Nabob with the respect due to his rank, with the kindness due to the ancient friendship between his family and the Company, and with the delicacy demanded by his dependant situation. At the same time, I avoided all familiarity with him; and I animadverted very fully upon the defects of his administration, and upon the extreme impropriety of his late conduct with relation to the interests of the Company."

How well Lord Mornington had improved his time during his limited sojourn at Madras, and how deep an insight into the character and capabilities of all the public servants at that Presidency he had acquired during this short time, is manifest from a letter written from Fort William to Lord Clive, soon after that noble Lord had entered upon the duties of the government, in which the Governor-General states unreservedly, under the seal of privacy, the result of his personal ob-

servations. Many of the gentlemen recommended to Lord Clive's notice in that document, afterwards attained distinction, and demonstrated by their public conduct the correctness of the estimate which Lord Mornington had formed of their abilities: among these may be mentioned Mr. Webbe, Mr. Lushington, Col. Close, and Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm.

On the 9th of May, 1798, the Earl of Mornington, accompanied by the Hon. Henry Wellesley, set sail from Madras; and on the 17th of the same month arrived at Fort William.

We may well imagine what mingled sentiments of pride, admiration, and wonder, filled the mind of the statesman as he approached the magnificent capital of the Indo-British Empire—the city of the sun,—glittering with palaces, gardens, and groves, with branching banian-trees, palm-trees of every variety, bright green peepuls, tall bamboos, and flowers of every hue! He was about to enter Calcutta as the representative of the sovereign power of England, and of the majesty of the Honourable East India Company—that magnificent incorporation of merchant princes, to whom we may, without violation of truth, apply the words addressed to the merchants of Tyre—"The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy markets; and thou wast replenished and made very glorious in the midst of the sea." Even before the administration of the Earl of Mornington their dominions were vast: by what mysterious influence were a body of traders in a little island several thousand miles distant from the shores of India, able to sway the destinies of hundreds of millions, and exercise sovereign power in Hindostan? or

how can we account for the circumstance that the authority of this Company was submitted to by those millions, and loyally supported by the arms of the vast native army, or sepoy force? By vigour, vigilance, prudence, and integrity in the administration of government;—contrasted with the venality, vacillation, imbecility, and utter corruption of the native governments;—by securing to every man toleration in the exercise of his religion, and protection and safety to his property,—placing him under the ægis of British laws, and exhibiting to him the extraordinary, but imposing, spectacle of an upright, impartial administration of justice by judges of learning, dignity, and incorruptible honour;—by fidelity to engagements;—by proved good faith;—by the genius, public spirit, and general capacity of the servants of the Honourable Company;—and by the valour and daring of the British soldiers, which filled the natives with awe and astonishment at the enterprising heroism of the Anglo-Saxon race, and breathed power and resolution even into the breasts of the timid dwellers on the banks of the Ganges. Lord Mornington fully appreciated the value of the splendid jewel committed to his charge;—inspired with the patriotic ardour of the antique Roman, whose character he had so ardently studied in his youth, and emulous of the renown of the Proconsuls, who carried the fame of the republic to the ends of the earth!

Lord Mornington was greeted with every mark of respect by his Excellency Sir Alured Clarke; and had the happiness of finding in Calcutta another of his brothers, Colonel Arthur Wellesley—whose great career was then about to commence under his Lordship's auspices.

We cannot present the scenes among which Lord Mornington now found himself more vividly to the mind of the reader, than by quoting the following beautiful lines of Bishop Heber, entitled "An Evening Walk in Bengal:"—

"Our task is done!—on Gunga's breast
The sun is sinking down to rest;
And, moored beneath the tamarind bough,
Our bark has found its harbour now.
With furled sail and painted side,
Behold the tiny frigate ride:
Upon the deck, 'mid charcoal gleams,
The Moslem's savoury supper steams;
While all apart, beneath the wood,
The Hindoo cooks his simpler food.
"Come, walk with me the jungle through—
If yonder hunter told us true,
Far off, in desert dank and rude,
The tiger holds its solitude;
Now (taught by recent harm to shun
The thunders of the English gun)
A dreadful guest but rarely seen,
Returns to scare the village green.
Come boldly on; no venomed snake
Can shelter in so cool a brake—
Child of the sun, he loves to lie
'Midst Nature's embers, parched and dry,
Where o'er some tower in ruin laid,
The peepul spreads its haunted shade;
Or round a tomb his scales to wreathe,
Fit warder in the gate of Death.
Come on; yet pause! Behold us now
Beneath the bamboo's arched bough,
Where, gemming oft that sacred gloom,
Glows the geranium's scarlet bloom;
And winds our path through many a bower
Of fragrant tree and giant flower—
The ceiba's crimson pomp displayed
O'er the broad plantain's humbler shade,
And dusk anana's prickly glade;

While o'er the brake, so wild and fair,
The betel waves his crest in air;
With pendant train and rushing wings,
Aloft the gorgeous peacock springs:
And he the bird of hundred dyes,
Whose plumes the dames of Ava prize.
So rich a shade, so green a sod,
Our English fairies never trod!
Yet who in Indian bowers has stood,
But thought of England's good 'green wood;'
And blessed, beneath the palmy shade,
Her hazel and her hawthorn glade;
And breathed a prayer (how oft in vain!)
To gaze upon her oaks again?
A truce to thought—the jackal's cry
Resounds like sylvan revelry;
And through the trees yon failing ray
Will scantly serve to guide our way.
Yet mark, as fade the upper skies,
Each thicket opes ten thousand eyes—
Before, beside us, and above,
The fire-fly lights his lamp of love,
Retreating, chasing, sinking, soaring,
The darkness of the copse exploring;
While to this cooler air confest,
The broad dhatura bares her breast,
Of fragrant scent and virgin white,
A pearl around the locks of night!
Still as we pass, in softened hum
Along the breezy alleys come
The village song, the horn, the drum:
Still as we pass, from bush and brier
The shrill cigala strikes his lyre;
And what is she, whose liquid strain
Thrills through yon copse of sugar-cane?
I know the soul-enchanting swell,
It is—it must be—Philomel!
Enough, enough, the rustling trees
Announce a shower upon the breeze,
The flashes of the summer sky
Assume a deeper, ruddier dye;
Yon lamp that trembles on the stream,
From forth our cabin sheds its beam;

And we must early sleep, to find
Betimes the morning's healthy wind.
But oh! with thankful hearts confess
E'en here there may be happiness;
And He, the bounteous Sire, has given
His peace on earth—his hope of heaven."

As we shall soon see, the Governor-General forthwith entered upon the duties of his office, and became engaged in matters of the gravest importance—pregnant with the most momentous consequences to the interests of the British empire.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lord Mornington directs his attention to the Affairs of Tanjore.—Geographical position of Tanjore.—Danish Settlement at Tranquebar.—The celebrated Missionary Schwarz.—Misrepresentations of Mr. Mill.—Ameer Sing, the reigning Rajah.—Serfojee, the Adopted Son of Tuljajee.—Unjust Aspersions on the East India Company and the Governor-General, in Hook's Life of Sir David Baird.—Colonel Baird at Tanjore in 1796.—His Partizanship.—Reprimanded by the Governor of Madras in Council.—Examination of the Claims of the Rival Princes.—Mr. Mill erroneously describes Ameer Sing as the Son of Tuljajee, the previous Rajah of Tanjore.—Serfojee the Adopted Son of Tuljajee.—Law of Adoption in Eastern Countries.—Adoption among the Romans, &c.—Rights conferred by Adoption.—Serfojee the Pupil of Schwarz.—His Education, Acquirements, Interview with Bishop Heber.—Erects a Marble Monument to the memory of Schwarz.—Justification of Lord Mornington's Proceedings.—The Governor-General receives a copy of Malartic's Proclamation at the Isle of France respecting an Embassy from Tippoo Sultaun.—Copy of the Proclamation, and Translation.—Lord Mornington's first Impressions respecting it.—Letter to General Harris at Madras, relating to the possible assembling of the Army.—Communication from Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay.—Dispatches from Lord Macartney and Sir Hugh Christian.—Genuineness of the Proclamation.—Lord Mornington examines upon oath Persons at the Isle of France when the Embassy arrived there.—Conclusions arrived at by his Lordship.—Dangers which menaced British India at this crisis.—Probability of a French Invasion.—French Expedition to Bantry Bay.—Lord Mornington resolves to prepare for Hostilities.—Final orders to General Harris.

THE first public act of the Earl of Mornington after his assumption of the powers of the supreme government at Calcutta was directed to the settlement of the

affairs of the country of Tanjore, which had occupied much of his attention in England prior to his embarkation for India, as well as during his stay at the Cape of Good Hope and at Madras. Tanjore, the capital of the district of that name, is situated on the eastern coast of India, not far from the south bank of the Cavery, and about forty miles from Trichinopoli. It is a place of great strength, containing 80,000 inhabitants; and is remarkable in the history of Christian missions, as the burial-place of the celebrated Schwarz, who originally commenced his valuable and disinterested labours at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, on the sea-coast of Tanjore; of which foreign settlement we shall have occasion to say more at a future stage of this work.

Mr. Mill exhibits upon the subject of Tanjore much of that strong prejudice which he entertained against the whole of the Marquess Wellesley's administration, and which led him to indulge in the most unjust reflections upon various parts of the noble Lord's career. He represents the arrangements made with reference to Tanjore as an act of unjustifiable tyranny, supported by fraud; and studies to involve the whole transaction in a mysterious shroud. "In the year 1798," he remarks, "a convenient discovery was made, that Ameer Sing was not the legal heir to the musnud* of Tanjore; but Serfojee, the adopted son of Tuljajee. The question of the rights of these two Princes remains in obscurity. The documents have not yet been made accessible to the public; and one knows not on what grounds the decision was formed. This only we know,

* Throne.

that it was determined to dethrone Ameer Sing and to set up Serfojee in his stead." Following in the same track, the biographer of Sir David Baird accuses the Honourable East India Company and the Governor-General of having invented a pretext to give some colour of justice to their arbitrary exertion of bare-faced power in dethroning a lawful Sovereign, "the undoubted heir," and seizing upon his territory. Sir David Baird had been the Colonel of a regiment, quartered at Tanjore in 1796; and in consequence of his avowed partisanship with the ruling Prince Ameer Sing, and his indiscreet interference with the political resident at that Court, was reprimanded by the Governor of the Presidency in Council, and removed from Tanjore to Pondicherry. His warm feelings led him to take a deep interest in the welfare of the man with whom he had lived on terms of intimacy, and even friendship; accordingly, he invariably maintained the pretensions of Ameer Sing against those of his rival, "an unknown foundling."

Let us now see what are the facts of this case: Mr. Mill describes Ameer Sing as the *son* of the Rajah of Tanjore, who died 1786. He was not the son of the Rajah; he was his *brother*. So much for the foundation-stone of the charge against Lord Wellesley. So far from being a lawful prince, originally he assumed power simply as Regent and guardian to the Prince, who was afterwards placed on the musnud by the British Government. When the Rajah of Tanjore, Tuljajee, was on the point of death, he sent for Schwarz the missionary, who had for years been recognised as

the agent of the British Government, both at Seringapatam and Tanjore. He committed to the care of the missionary the boy Serfojee, his adopted son,* whom he named and formally appointed as his successor. "He is not my son, but yours," said the dying Rajah; "into your hands I deliver him." Schwarz nobly fulfilled his task; he took the greatest pains with the education of his pupil, and exerted the whole force of his influence with the East India Company to protect him against the usurpation of his treacherous "guardian." Bishop Heber, speaking in his journal of Serfojee, describes him as an extraordinary man: he states that he quoted Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnæus, and Buffon, fluently, that he had formed an accurate judgment of the merits of Shakspeare, that he wrote tolerable English poetry, and was "respected by the English officers in the neighbourhood as a real good judge of a horse, and a cool, bold, and deadly shot at a tiger."† Schwarz died on the 13th of February, 1798,

* Adoption, though unknown to the laws of England, is universally recognised in Eastern countries,—an adopted child becoming in all legal respects the child of his adoptive father. Adoption (*adoptio* and *adrogatio*) was a common practice among the Romans; instances of it abound both in the history of the Republic and the Empire. It still forms part of the Civil Law.—*See Halifax's Analysis of Civil Law, by Geldart.* It is discussed in the first book of the Institutes of Justinian, Tit. xi. "De Adoptionibus." Adoption also obtained among the Athenians; and, since the promulgation of the Roman code in Europe, has, in a modified form, prevailed in Germany and France. The custom is recognised by the Mohammedan and Gentoo laws; and is practised as well by the Turks as the natives of India. The fact, therefore, that SERFOJEE was only the *adopted* child of the Rajah of Tanjore does not, as seems to have been insinuated, affect his legitimate title to the succession.

† Vol. iii. p. 456.

too early to witness the arrival of the new Governor-General and see the elevation of his favourite pupil to the station to which he was very soon after that date raised. Serfojee erected a marble monument, executed by Flaxman, to the memory of his instructor; and the Court of Directors placed another, by Bacon, in honour of the heroic apostle of Christ in the church of St Mary, Madras.*

The whole question of the disputed succession had been submitted to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control before Lord Mornington's nomination as Governor-General. After a full consideration of the case, they decided that Serfojee was the rightful heir to the throne; and the Governor-General carried with him, from London, distinct orders to invest that Prince with the Government of the Tanjore country. The whole of the complicated details of this interesting discussion, as we have observed, immediately occupied Lord Mornington's attention; and on the 31st of May, fourteen days after his arrival, he drew up a minute in council, intimating that it was his intention to direct the Government of Madras to place Serfojee upon the musnud of Tanjore without delay;—giving orders for the protection of the person and property of the deposed Regent, "together with a suitable provision for his maintenance, so long as he should conduct himself in all respects to the satisfaction of the Government of Madras;" and directing the appointment

* The estimable Bishop Heber terminated his career of usefulness at Trichinopoli, which is thirty-eight miles west from Tanjore. He died suddenly in the year 1826, while taking a cold bath, and was buried in the church of that place.

of a commission to consist of the Company's servants for the purpose of conducting a full inquiry into the state and resources of Tanjore, the revenues of which were in the most unsatisfactory condition. On the 25th of October, 1799, a treaty, mutually advantageous to the subjects of the Rajah of Tanjore and the East India Company, was concluded between Serfojee and the Governor-General.

On the 8th of June—twenty-two days after he had arrived at Fort William—a circumstance occurred which at once aroused the Governor-General to action, and led to consequences of the deepest importance to the whole continent of India.

His Excellency's attention was attracted to an article of intelligence which appeared in a Calcutta newspaper of that day, purporting to be a copy of a proclamation in the French language, published by the Governor of the Isle of France, at Port North-West, on the 30th of January, 1798; announcing that two ambassadors had arrived from Tippoo Sultaun with letters addressed to the authorities of that island, as well as dispatches to be forwarded to the French Directory; that the object of the embassy was to propose an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France; and to demand a subsidiary force for the purpose of commencing a war to expel the English from India: the proclamation concluded by inviting the citizens in the Isles of France and Bourbon to volunteer their services to the King of Mysore. The following is a copy of this remarkable document;—

Liberté. Egalité.

REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE, UNE ET INDIVISIBLE.*

PROCLAMATION.

ANNE JOSEPH HYPPOLITE MALARTIC, *General en Chef, Governeur General des Isles de France et de la Reunion, et Commandant General des Etablissements Français, a l'Est du Cap de Bonne Esperance.*

Citoyens,

Connaissant depuis plusieurs années votre zèle et votre attachment pour les interèts et la gloire de notre République, nous sommes tres empressés et nous nous faisons un devoir de vous donner connaissance de toutes les propositions que nous fait Tippoo Sultaun, par deux Ambassadeurs qu'il nous a dépéchés.

Ce prince a écrit des lettres particulières á l'Assemblée Coloniale, à tous les Généraux qui sont employés dans ce gouvernement, et nous a adressé un paquet pour le Directoire Executif.

* [*Translation.*]

Liberty. Equality.

The French Republic one and indivisible.

PROCLAMATION

Anne Joseph Hyppolite Malartic, Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General of the Isles of France and Réunion, and of all the French Establishments to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

" Citizens,

" Having for several years known your zeal and your attachment to the interests and to the glory of our Republic, we are very anxious, and we feel it a duty, to make you acquainted with all the propositions which have been made to us by Tippoo Sultaun, through two ambassadors, whom he has dispatched to us.

" This Prince has written particular letters to the Colonial Assembly ;

1°. Il demande à faire une alliance offensive et défensive avec les Français, en proposant d'entretenir à ses frais, tant que la guerre durera dans l'Inde, les troupes qu'on pourra lui envoyer.

2°. Il promet de fournir toutes les choses nécessaires pour faire cette guerre, excepté le Vin et l'Eau de vie, dont il se trouve absolument dénué.

3°. Il assure que tous les préparatifs sont faits pour recevoir les secours qu'on lui donnera, et qu'a l'arrivée des troupes, les Chefs et Officiers trouveront toutes les choses necessaires pour faire une guerre à laquelle les Européens sont peu accoutumés.

4°. Enfin il n'attend plus que le moment ou les Français viendront a son secours, pour déclarer la guerre aux Anglais, desirant avec ardeur pouvoir les chasser de l'Inde.

Comme il nous est impossible de diminuer le nombre des soldats des 107e. et 108e. regimens, et de la garde soldée du Port de la Fraternité, a cause des secours que nous avons envoyès à nos alliés les Hollandais,

to all the Generals employed under this Government; and has addressed to us a paeket for the Exeeutive Direetory.

" 1. He desires to form an offensive and defensive allianee with the Freneh, and proposes to maintain at his eharge, as long as the war shall last in India, the troops which may be sent to him.

" 2. He promises to furnish every necessary for carrying on the war, wine and brandy excepted, with which he is wholly unprovided.

" 3. He deelares that he has made every preparation to reeeive the sueeours whieh may be sent to him, and that on the arrival of the troops, the Commanders and officers will find everything neeessary for making a war to whieh Europeans are but little accustomed.

" 4. In a word, he only awaits the moment when the Freneh shall eome to his assistanee *to declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India.*

" As it is impossible for us to reduee the number of soldiers of the 107th and 108th regiments, and of the regular guard of Port Fraternité,

nous invitons tous les Citoyens de bonne volonté à se faire inscrire dans leurs municipalités respectives, pour aller servir sous les drapeaux de Tippoo.

Ce prince desire aussi avoir des citoyens de couleur, libres, et nous invitons tous ceux qui voudront aller servir sous ses drapeaux à se faire aussi inscrire.

Nous pouvons assurer tous les citoyens qui se seront inscrire, que Tippoo leur fera des traitements advantageux qui seront fixés avec ses Ambassadeurs qui s'engageront en outre, au nom de leur souverain, à ce que les Français qui auront pris parti dans ses armées ne puissent jamais y être retenus quand ils voudront rentrer dans leur patrie.

Fait au Port Nord-Ouest, le 10 Pluviose, l'an six de la République Française, une et indivisible.

(Signé) MALARTIC.

The apparent impudence and rashness of divulging to the world the important matter which the proclamation contained, induced Lord Mornington, at

on account of the succours which we have furnished to our allies the Dutch, we invite the citizens who may be disposed to enter as volunteers to enrol themselves in their respective municipalities, and to serve under the banners of Tippoo.

" This Prince desires also to be assisted by the free citizens of colour; we therefore invite all such who are willing to serve under his flag to enrol themselves.

" We can assure all the citizens who shall enrol themselves, that Tippoo will allow them an advantageous rate of pay, the terms of which will be fixed with his ambassadors, who will further engage, in the name of their sovereign, that all Frenchmen who shall enter into his armies shall never be detained after they shall have expressed a wish to return to their own country.

" Done at Port North-West, 10th Pluviose, sixth year of the Republic, one and indivisible (30th of January, 1798).

(Signed) " MALARTIC "

first sight (his Lordship informs us), to doubt the authenticity of the document. Reflection, however, appeared to have convinced him of the strong probability that the proclamation was genuine, and that Tippoo Sultaun had, by an overt act, afforded proof of that hereditary enmity which it was known to all India he cherished against the British power. On the next day after the appearance of the above intelligence in the Calcutta newspaper, the Governor-General transmitted to General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief on the coast of Coromandel and acting Governor of the Madras Presidency, a copy of the proclamation, accompanied by a letter, in which he observes, " If Tippoo should choose to avow the objects of his embassy to have been such as are described in the proclamation, the consequences may be very serious, and may ultimately involve us in the calamity of war. *I wish you to be apprised of my apprehensions on this subject, and to prepare your mind for the possible event. You will therefore turn your attention to the means of collecting a force, if necessity should unfortunately require it; but it is not my desire that you should proceed to take any public steps towards the assembling of the army before you receive some further intimation from me.*" Lord Mornington has been censured for taking so important a step upon such frivolous grounds; but it is evident that his Lordship's motive in writing to General Harris the letter from which we have quoted, was simply to adopt precautionary measures, and to prepare the Madras Government against a danger which might possibly menace it. The Governor-General was not ignorant of the character and history of Tippoo

Sultaun, who had, on so many previous occasions, measured swords with British armies; he had received certain intelligence that this warlike and ambitious prince had collected a large army; there were the strongest reasons to believe that Tippoo was in correspondence with Zemaun Shah and General Raymond, the commander of the French force in the service of the Nizam; and everything in the political situation of India, as well as the virulent hostility menaced by France against the power of Great Britain in the East, tended to afford encouragement to the hostile designs of the Court of Mysore. What seemed more likely than that Tippoo should embrace the opportunity presented by such a combination of favourable circumstances? It is rather a remarkable coincidence, that the proclamation of General Malartic produced the very same impression on the minds of the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, the Home Government, and the Court of Directors, as, contemporaneously, it produced on the mind of Lord Mornington. So far from acting with precipitancy, it will be found that the Governor-General obtained proof of the most decisive character of the genuineness of the proclamation, and the truth of the facts disclosed in it, before he took any decisive measures against Tippoo. A letter from the Hon. J. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, dated 23rd of May, 1798, (sixteen days before Lord Mornington was aware of the existence of the proclamation in question,) communicated the evidence of some English sailors, who had been prisoners on board *La Preneuse*, French frigate, stating that a copy of the proceedings at the Isle of France, relative to the Embassy from Tippoo

Sultaun, had been hung up in the state cabin of *La Preneuse*, and that the French officers had frequently inquired whether Tippoo had not already declared war against the English: "All which," observes Mr. Duncan, "*seems but too corroborative of the other indications on the same subject, which were such as to have induced us very earnestly to convey all the knowledge we possessed on the subject to the Admiral*, with the hope of thereby frustrating the arrival of succours to Tippoo by way of Mangalore; as might no doubt have been ensured, but for the early departure of the *Suffolk* and *Arrogant* to the other coast, which was immediately followed by the surprise and capture of our Indiamen."

On the 18th of June, the Earl of Mornington received dispatches from Lord Macartney and from Sir Hugh Christian, under date of the 28th of March, authenticating General Malartic's proclamation. It was established beyond question, by the general tenour of all the private letters from the Cape, as well as every public account which had been given of the transaction, that Tippoo Sultaun had dispatched two ambassadors to the Isle of France, and that the Proclamation of General Malartic was published subsequently to their arrival, and during their residence in the island. In order, however, to obtain the most accurate information with respect to the circumstances attending the reception of the Embassy, the publication of the proclamation, and the conduct of the ambassadors, the Governor-General *examined upon oath some respectable persons in neutral vessels, who were present in the Isle of France during the residence of*

the ambassadors at Port North-West. From the concurrent testimony of these persons, subsequently corroborated by intelligence from various quarters, a connected account of the whole transaction was obtained; establishing in his Excellency's opinion the following conclusions:—

First.—That the ambassadors dispatched by Tippoo Sultaun to the Government of the Isle of France, proposed to that Government an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the British possessions in India; which alliance was accepted by that Government, and its acceptance formally notified by a public proclamation.

Secondly. — That the ambassadors were charged with letters from Tippoo Sultaun to the Executive Directory of France, which letters were stated to contain the same proposition, and that the ambassadors delivered these letters to the Governor-General of the Isle of France, for the purpose of transmission to France.

Thirdly.—That ambassadors, in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, gave public assurances that he had actually completed the necessary preparations for commencing immediate hostilities, and that he only waited the arrival of succours from the French to declare war against the Company for the express purpose of expelling the British nation from India.

Fourthly. — That the ambassadors demanded unlimited military succour from the French, and levied a military force in the Isle of France, with the declared object of commencing immediate war against the British nation in India.

Fifthly.—That this force has been actually landed in Tippoo's country, and publicly admitted into his service with signal marks of approbation; and that the ambassadors have been received with similar distinction.

Sixthly.—That Tippoo Sultaun (by receiving with public marks of approbation his ambassadors, who had concluded, in his name, an offensive and defensive alliance with the French,—and by admitting into his service the military force raised for effecting the objects of that alliance) has personally ratified the engagements contained in the proclamation of the Governor-General of the Isle of France, and has proceeded to act under those engagements conformably with the tenour of that proclamation.

Seventhly.—That, although the succour actually received by Tippoo Sultaun under his offensive alliance with the French is inconsiderable, yet the tenour of the proclamation, the proposition made to the French Government for unlimited military aid, &c. &c., and the declarations of the ambassadors, prove that it was the intention of Tippoo Sultaun to receive into his service the largest force which he could obtain, for the purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the Company in India.

Lord Mornington at once resolved to frustrate the designs of the enemies of England, before they should attain a dangerous maturity. The cannon of French privateers at the very Sand Heads in the Bay of Bengal;—the fact of the landing on the coast of Malabar of the French auxiliaries from the Mauritius;—the organization of the French corps in the Deccan,

and in the service of the Mahrattas—all seemed to warn the Government of Fort William of the probability of the arrival in India of a French invading army. Nobody knew better the activity and energy of the French Directory and its victorious general, than the Governor-General of India; and the experience of the previous year, during which an armament of twenty thousand French troops reached Bantry Bay, on the southern coast of Ireland, demonstrated the possibility of a large force putting to sea from France, and eluding the vigilance of the British fleet, and admonished Lord Mornington to be prepared at a moment's notice to act upon the defensive. At this time Lord Mornington had not received intelligence of the French expedition to Egypt; and those who have been anxious to darken his fame have accused him, on that account, of acting under a violent impulse, with haste and precipitation,—instead of paying a tribute of admiration to the wisdom of the man whose prophetic sagacity had anticipated the movements of the enemy, and beforehand adopted the very measures which the Home Government suggested, as soon as they beheld the dangers which threatened the British empire in India developed in their full magnitude. It has been said that Lord Mornington had in June 1789 no reason to anticipate that France meditated an attack on India. As early, however, as 1785, it was generally known in England that the French contemplated the expulsion of the British from the East: "The present view of the French," says Horace Walpole, writing at that date, "is to divest us of India;" the probability of an

attack upon our Indian empire had been clearly foreseen by Mr. Dundas. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir A. Clarke, and other members of the Council at Fort William, fully coincided in the views of the Governor-General; and on the 20th of June, 1798, two days after the evidence of the authenticity of the proclamation was complete, Lord Mornington wrote to General Harris: "I now take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with my FINAL DETERMINATION. I mean to call upon the allies without delay, and to assemble the army upon the coast with all possible expedition. You will receive my public instructions in the course of a few days. Until you have received them, it will not be proper to take any public steps for the assembling of the army; but whatever can be done without a disclosure of the ultimate object, I authorize you to do immediately, intending to apprise you by this letter THAT IT IS MY POSITIVE RESOLUTION TO ASSEMBLE THE ARMY UPON THE COAST. I wish to receive from you, by express, a statement of the force which you can put in motion immediately, and within what time you can make any large additions to it."

Before we enter into the development of Lord Mornington's policy, and proceed to relate the manner in which his orders were received by the Madras Government, it will be proper to give the reader some account of the ambitious and warlike sovereign who had thus provoked the displeasure of the British power.

CHAPTER IX.

Career of Hyder Ali, father of Tippoo Saib.—Wars with the British.—Great Qualities.—Marches to the Gates of Madras, and dictates Terms of Peace.—War with the Mahrattas.—British refuse to assist him.—Invades the Carnatic.—Spreads terror through the country.—Tippoo Saib commands a Division of Horse.—Hyder Ali encounters the British under Colonel Baillie.—Utterly destroys Baillie's Force.—Cowardice of Sir Hector Munro in deserting Baillie.—British Prisoners saved from Massacre by the interposition of French Officers.—Measures of Warren Hastings.—Sir Eyre Coote takes the Field.—Fortune of the War changed.—Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib defeated.—They gain Advantages over the British.—A French Fleet arrives off the Coast of Malabar.—Cruel Treatment of the English Prisoners in the hands of Hyder.—Hypocrisy of Tippoo Saib.—Death of Hyder Ali.—Tippoo cuts to pieces the British Force under General Mathews.—Mathews cruelly poisoned by the Tyrant.—Seventeen British Officers poisoned in Prison.—Others die from the Effects of Imprisonment.—Fall of Bednore.—Siege of Mangalore.—Peace between Great Britain and France.—Termination of the War with Tippoo.—Wealth and Resources of Tippoo Sultaun.—Tippoo, in defiance of the British, makes War upon Travancore.—Marquess Cornwallis takes the Field.—Seringapatam invested.—Tippoo alarmed.—The Capital spared.—Gives his Sons as Hostages.—Deprived of a large Portion of his Territory.—Obliged to pay the Expenses of the War.—Continued Enmity to the British.—The Political Balance created by Marquess Cornwallis disarranged in 1798.—The Allies weaker.—Tippoo's Strength recovered —Corresponds with the French, &c.—His Letter to Sir John Shore, respecting Lord Mornington.—Letters to Sir Alured Clarke and Lord Mornington.

Tippoo Saib, Sultaun of Mysore, first attracted notice in the protracted and bloody wars of his father, the renowned Hyder Ali Khan, against the British.

During the wars between the French and the English in the Carnatic, Hyder, who had originally been a private soldier in the service of the Rajah of Mysore, raised himself first to be the captain of a band of marauders, then to commander of the army of Mysore; and finally, like Nadir Shah, Napoleon and other military dictators, assumed sovereign power. Tippoo, the usurper's eldest son, was educated in all the sciences which are cultivated by the Mohammedan sect—to which Hyder Ali was devoted with all the enthusiastic ardour of a devout Mussulman. He discovered but little taste for learning, however; and at an early age addicted himself to martial exercises. During the first war Hyder carried the terrors of his arms to the gates of Madras, and dictated terms of peace to the British Government; Tippoo, at this time nineteen years of age, was entrusted with the command of a corps of cavalry. Mutual restitution of conquests and an alliance in defensive wars, were the conditions of the treaty which terminated hostilities. In 1770 the Mahrattas invaded Mysore; and Hyder Ali applied to his British allies for assistance against these formidable enemies; but assistance was not rendered to him, and he had to purchase peace on disadvantageous terms. Filled with rage and resentment against the British, who had disappointed his hopes, the active chieftain of Mysore opened communications with the French authorities at Pondicherry, and succeeded in detaching the Nizam from his alliance with the British Government. Having collected an overwhelming force, he descended into the Carnatic like a thunderbolt. His army con-

sisted of twenty thousand regular infantry, and seventy thousand horse ; nearly one half of which were disciplined in European tactics, and were directed by French officers and engineers. Hyder's sudden irruption carried dismay into the council-chamber of Madras. The villas in the neighbourhood of Madras were deserted by the panic-stricken inhabitants, and the British residents of the presidency, it is even said, thought of taking refuge in their ships and abandoning the city. A little army under the command of Colonel Baillie, while endeavouring to form a junction with the force of Sir Hector Munro, but six miles distant, was attacked by the combined forces of Hyder Ali. Colonel Baillie's little band consisted of only four hundred Europeans and two thousand sepoys ; but animated by the heroic spirit of their undaunted leader, they maintained their ground with firmness, in the hope of being relieved by Sir Hector Munro. Forming a square, they resisted no less than thirteen charges of the Mysore cavalry ; and notwithstanding the fearful havoc created by the fire of sixty pieces of cannon and the fury of armed elephants, for some time the fortunes of the day were doubtful. Sir Hector Munro was near enough to hear the distant thunder of the artillery ; but with a degree of poltroonery that neither became his Trojan appellation, nor the character of the nation to which he belonged, he retreated precipitately within the gates of Madras, and left the whole of his brethren in arms, either to be cut to pieces or to endure the horrors of a captivity worse than death. Colonel Baillie and two hundred officers

and men were the only survivors at the close of the day ; and but for the humane intervention of General Lally and the French officers, they would have been instantly massacred. Hyder was in the thick of the battle during the fight; while Tippoo, his lion whelp, ravening in English blood, shared in the dangers and glories of the day. The intelligence of these events produced an extraordinary sensation throughout British India: the whole population of Madras put on mourning. Warren Hastings instantly dispatched Sir Eyre Coote with five hundred Europeans and five hundred sepoys to the relief of Madras; and, quitting Calcutta, proceeded in person to the seat of war ; taking upon himself the direction of affairs in the invaded presidency. Sir Eyre Coote at once took the field, and soon changed the fortunes of the war. He compelled Hyder Ali to raise the sieges of Wandimash, Vellore, &c. ; and in a bloody engagement with the Mysorean forces near Porto Novo, on the sea coast, routed the enemy. Hyder, however, gained an advantage over the British on the very ground on which Colonel Baillie's troops were cut to pieces, and Sir Eyre Coote was compelled to fall back upon Madras. Lord Macartney, the new Governor of Madras, now made proposals of peace to Hyder Ali ; but they were rejected with disdain ; and both parties prepared for a protracted struggle. Colonel Baillie and the officers and soldiers who fell into the hands of their enemy, were treated with the greatest barbarity, and were imprisoned in irons in the dungeon of Seringapatam, notwithstanding the hypocritical

professions of Tippoo Saib that he felt a sympathy for the sufferings of these brave men and would exert himself to alleviate their condition.

In November, 1781, Lord Macartney had so far augmented the British forces as to enable him to undertake the enterprise of attacking Negabatam. The attack was successful, and 7000 Mysores were made prisoners. Sir Eyre Coote again took the field: he relieved Vellore, which had endured the unspeakable horrors of a sixteen months' close blockade: he took Chittor from the enemy, and expelled Hyder from Tanjore, which had suffered an accumulation of miseries during the previous campaign. But fortune was not always on the British side: Hyder occasionally pressed hard on his antagonists; and on the 17th of February, 1782, his son Tippoo Saib, on the banks of the Cole river in the Tanjore country, at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty pieces of ordnance, totally defeated an English force of two thousand men commanded by Colonel Braithwaite. Again the humanity of the French officers was displayed; but for the earnestness with which they interposed with Tippoo in behalf of the British prisoners, those unfortunate men would have been put to death in cold blood by their sanguinary young conqueror. Hyder Ali's last battle was fought with Sir Eyre Coote at Arnee; he was repulsed; and in a few months afterwards died in the eighty-second year of his age, in the midst of preparations for co-operating with a French fleet of twelve sail of the line which had arrived off the coast of Malabar. The unhappy Englishmen who were kept close prisoners in Seringapatam were cruelly disap-

pointed in the expectations which they had formed of receiving some better treatment from Tippoo Sultaun than they had experienced from his ferocious parent: many of them envied the fate of their hapless commander Colonel Baillie,—who expired from the effects of grief and ill usage in his dungeon, on the 13th of November, 1782. No sooner had the tyrant ascended the musnud, (of which his father had never the hardihood formally to take possession,) than he commanded that all the handsomest and youngest of the European soldiers should undergo the repulsive ceremonies of Mohammedanism. They were drugged with a delirious stuff called *majum*, which rendered them insensible, and in this state they received the initiatory rite. These wretched men were then compelled to act as drill-serjeants to Tippoo's slave battalion of boys, who had been kidnapped from the Carnatic.

The Bombay Government now detached a strong force, under General Mathews and Colonel Humberstone, into Mysore. They captured all the batteries and forts of the Great Pass of Hussaingurry Ghaut, four thousand feet in height ; carried Onore, Ananpore, and Bangalore by assault, and took possession of the city of Bednore, with an immense quantity of treasure. Tippoo was compelled precipitately to abandon and blow up Arcot, and hasten to defend his own territory. Fortunately for him the treasure captured in Bednore, —amounting to upwards of one million sterling,—was the cause of a serious division among the British forces, which ultimately led to their utter ruin. Cupidity blinded the officers and troops to a sense of their duty and to the imminently hazardous nature of their position.

General Mathews refused to devote any portion of the treasure to the pay of the troops, then eighteen months in arrear; in consequence of which, Colonel Humberstone and several of the leading officers resigned their commands and quitted the camp for the purpose of submitting their grievances to the Bombay Government. While discontent reigned among the British, and while the army was dispersed in small detachments, Tippoo Sultaun approached Bednore at the head of 50,000 troops. He immediately bore down upon General Mathews, who was then at the head of a column of 2000 men. The British force was annihilated, and their unfortunate commander was marched in heavy irons to the dungeons of Mysore, where he was eventually destroyed, by means of poisoned food, at the order of Tippoo. The havildar who had charge of General Mathews, told his hapless prisoner that the food which was placed before him was baited with a deadly poison. A horrible alternative was placed before the unhappy General;—he must either perish by poison or starvation. For several days he resisted the pangs of hunger; but at length maddened at the sight of the food, he indulged the cravings of his appetite, and soon afterwards was a corpse. General Mathews's death took place on the 7th of September, 1783: in the following month, Messrs. Rumley, Fraser, and Sampson were poisoned at Mysore: and the following officers were poisoned with the milk of the cocoanut-tree at the hill fort of Asse-Droog:—

Capt. Campbell, 98th regt. Capt. Fish, 100th regt.
Capt. Alston, 100th regt. Assist.-Surgeon Gifford, do.

In the Company's Service.

Brigadier-Major Young	Lieut. Olivier.
Major Fewtrill.	Capt. Eames.
Capt. Clift.	Capt. Lendrum.
Capt. Gottick.	Capt. R. Cullock.
Lieut. Barnwell.	Commissary Stewart.
Capt. Jackson.	Dep. Commiss. Cheek.
Capt. Richardson.	

Several of the English prisoners died in their dungeons, and some became insane from the horrors of confinement.

After the fall of Bednore, Tippoo laid siege to the fortress of Mangalore, on the coast of Malabar. In order to withdraw him from that important position, the British Government dispatched two different expeditions from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. The southern army under Colonel Fullarton succeeded in forcing a passage into Coimbatoor, and taking possession of the capital of that province. At this crisis the news of peace between France and Great Britain arrived ; a negotiation was set on foot, and after the capture ef the important town of Mangalore, which had endured a seven months' siege from Tippoo's army, the war was brought to a conclusion on the 11th of March, 1784,—a war which has been aptly described as the most formidable the English ever sustained for the empire of the East.

Notwithstanding this war, Tippoo's jewels and treasure were, in 1786, estimated at eighty millions sterling ; beside 700 elephants, 6,000 camels, 11,000 horses, 400,000 bullocks and cows, 100,000 buffaloes, 600,000 sheep, 300,000 firelocks, 300,000 matchlocks,

200,000 swords, and 2,000 pieces of cannon; beside an immense quantity of military stores; while his regular army consisted of 19,000 cavalry, 10,000 artillery, and 70,000 infantry, 5,000 rocket-men, and 40,000 irregular infantry. In 1787 and 1788 he exhibited his zeal for the Mohammedan religion, by carrying away from Malabar nearly 70,000 native Christians, and by converting 100,000 Hindoos into Mussulmans, forcibly compelling them to receive circumcision and eat beef. He also published an edict for the destruction of all Hindoo temples in his dominions. In 1787 Tippoo sent an embassy to Paris, to induce the French to commence hostilities against the British in India.

In April 1790, Tippoo, despite of the remonstrances of the British Government, invaded the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore. This was regarded as a declaration of war; and General Meadows and Colonel Stuart entered the Sultaun's dominions. In the beginning of the following year, however, so ably had Tippoo conducted the war, that the British commanders were menaced by the enemy at the gates of Madras. The Marquess Cornwallis now assumed the command of the army, and conducted the war with great vigour; yet it was not till February, 1792, that he was enabled to undertake the siege of Seringapatam. Being joined by the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and General Abercrombie, Lord Cornwallis made preparations for storming Seringapatam. Operations were commenced; four out of the six redoubts were taken; the breaching batteries were ready, and orders for the assault issued. Tippoo's spirit at length quailed; seeing his capital beleagured by eleven thousand

English, thirty thousand sepoys, with eighty-four pieces of cannon, he accepted the conditions proposed to him by Lord Cornwallis. By the treaty of peace he was compelled to cede half his dominions to the British, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas; to pay three million five hundred thousand pounds sterling as the expenses of the war; to deliver up all the prisoners which he held in captivity, and to surrender his two sons as hostages. Lord Cornwallis hoped that, by diminishing the power of Tippoo Sultaun and augmenting the power of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, a system of balanced power would be established that would guarantee a continuance of tranquillity.

Lord Wellesley has been blamed for not abiding by the treaty of Seringapatam, and maintaining the balance as adjusted by Lord Cornwallis; but the fact is, that this balance was destroyed during the administration of Sir John Shore, when the Nizam was attacked and his power nearly annihilated by the Mahrattas. The weakness of the Nizam, and the internal convulsions of the Mahratta states, prevented those members of the triple alliance from affording the expected support to the British, or from keeping the restless Sultaun of Mysore in check.

In a letter written by Lord Wellesley to Lord Melville, from the Cape of Good Hope, his Lordship, referring to Tippoo Sultaun's communications with Zemaun Shah observes, "If the facts be true which I have stated on both sides of this enumeration of the comparative circumstances of our situation in India, and of those which affect the situation of Tippoo, it must be admitted that he has rather gained than lost weight in the period of time described, and

that the consistency, unity, and efficiency of our side of the balance has suffered no inconsiderable degree of diminution." He adds emphatically, "*The balance of power in India no longer exists upon the same footing on which it was placed by the peace of Seringapatam.*"

"The final result," remarks the Governor-General, in a letter addressed to J. A. Kirkpatrick, Esq., at Hyderabad, "is the entire loss of the benefit of the triple alliance against Tippoo Sultaun, and the establishment of a French army of fourteen thousand men in the dominions of one of our allies, in the vicinity of the territories of Tippoo Sultaun, and on the confines of the Carnatic and the Northern Circars."

Notwithstanding Tippoo's correspondence with the French, with Zemaun Shah, and other powers, and the military preparations which were in progress in Mysore, the crafty Asiatic, with characteristic duplicity, continued to profess sentiments of the utmost amity towards the British Government. The following letter was received at Calcutta on the 26th of April, 1798 :—

TIPPOO SULTAUN TO SIR JOHN SHORE.

"I have been favoured with your letter, notifying your intention of returning to Europe, and the nomination of Lord Mornington, who is of rank, to the office of Governor-General, in whom the same disposition would be manifested with yourself, to cultivate and improve the friendship and good understanding subsisting between the two states, and an inviolable adherence to the engagements by which they are con-

nected. It is very well. You must impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between us, and constantly favour me with letters communicating your health and welfare.

"(A true translation.) N. B. Edminstone,
"Persian Translator to Government."

On the very day that this letter was received at Fort William, Tippoo's ambassadors whom he had sent to the Governor of the Isle of France, landed at Mangalore, a sea-port on the coast of Malabar, accompanied by the French force levied under Malartic's proclamation.

On the 17th of May, 1789, the following letter reached the supreme Government :—

TIPPOO SULTAUN TO SIR ALURED CLARKE.

"I was much gratified by the receipt of your friendly letter, communicating the departure of Sir John Shore, and your having taken charge of the Government until the arrival of the Earl of Mornington. As you are a friend, I have no doubt of your constant disposition to strengthen the bonds of sincere attachment to the two states."

The annexed letter was written immediately after the intelligence of the Governor-General's arrival reached Seringapatam :—

FROM TIPPOO SULTAUN TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

Your Lordship's friendly letter containing the agreeable intelligence of your arrival at Calcutta, and your

taking charge of the Company's affairs, reached me at the happiest of times, and afforded me a degree of pleasure and satisfaction that cannot be adequately expressed upon paper. May the Almighty prosper to your Lordship this event! By the Divine grace, the exalted fabric of union and attachment, and the firm foundation of friendship and harmony between the two states, are in full strength. To adhere to the obligations of existing treaties, is a constant object with me. Your Lordship is from your heart a friend and well-wisher, and I am confident will hold in mind the observance of union and concord. I hope you will continue to gratify me by letters notifying your welfare.

"(A true translation.) N. B. EDMINSTONE,
"Persian Translator to Government."

The Governor-General rightly judged that mere expostulations with such an enemy would be productive of no lasting benefit. The history of the past proved that nothing short of *depriving Tippoo Sultaun of the power of doing mischief*, could afford the British Government security against his hostile designs.

While, therefore, he proceeded to open a negotiation with Tippoo respecting Wynaad and other disputed territories, his Excellency urged upon the Government of Madras the duty of immediate preparations, on a scale commensurate with the enterprise which he projected. What effect Lord Mornington's letter to General Harris produced in the Council of Fort St. George, and what events occurred in consequence of it, shall be related in a succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER X.

Dismay produeed at Madras by Lord Mornington's orders.—Mr. Webbe predicts that the Governor-General will be defeated, and impeached on his return to Europe.—General Harris alarmed.—Advises Lord Mornington to temporise with Tippoo Sultaun.—Memorandum of Mr. Webbe.—Weakness of the Madras Government.—Mr. Webbe trembles at the Prospeet of an Invasion by Tippoo.—Reeounts the Disasters, Dangers, Expenses, and Delays of the Wars with Hyder Ali and Tippoo.—Lord Mornington's Firmness.—Repeats his Orders.—Is supported by the Commander-in-Chief and the Counеil of Bengal.—Prepares for the Contest.—Negotiations with the Nizam and the Mahrattas.—Aecomplishes the Destruetion of the Frenеh Foree of the Nizam without shedding blood.—The Nizam reeeives a British subsidiary Foree instead of the disbanded Frenеh Corps.—Effeets of this stroke of poliey all through British India.—Exultation of the Adherents of the British Government.—General Craig congratulates Lord Mornington on the Result.—Correspondenee between Tippoo Sultaun and the Governor-General.

THE Governor-General's letters to General Harris, announcing that it was his positive resolution to assemble the army upon the coast of Coromandel, were received with anything but enthusiastic approbation at Madras. The bare idea of the possible renewal of hostilities with Tippoo Sultaun filled the members of that Government with the most painful apprehensions. When Lord Mornington's orders were communicated to Mr. Webbe, the Secretary of the Government, by Mr. Lushington, the Private Secretary of General Harris, that gentleman gave expression to his disapprobation of

the projected operations in the strongest terms. "Our unprepared state for war, in the absence of a large portion of our troops in the Eastern Islands;—our empty and bankrupt treasury at Madras;—all the horrors of Hyder's merciless invasion of the Carnatic,—of Tippoo's sanguinary destruction of Colonel Baillie's detachment,—Sir Hector Munro's disgraceful retreat to Madras, and the first failure of Lord Cornwallis against Seringapatam rushed at once into Mr. Webbe's mind, after reading Lord Mornington's letter, and he exclaimed with bitterness and grief, 'I can anticipate nothing but shocking disasters from a premature attack upon Tippoo in our present disabled condition, and the *impeachment* of Lord Mornington for his temerity.'"* Even the Commander-in-Chief of the army of Coromandel shrunk at first sight from the enterprise which Lord Mornington proposed to him. "For my own part," observes General Harris, in a letter dated 23rd of June, 1798, "I have no doubt (as matters now stand with the French) but Tippoo will explain away our just grounds of complaint, although I am convinced he has committed himself to the full extent of the proclamation. His inveteracy to us will only end with his life, and he will always seize any opportunity that offers to annoy us; *but notwithstanding this, and that the political circumstances of India are now much in our favour, it perhaps still remains a matter of serious consideration whether, in our very great want of cash, and the effect our being engaged in war in this country may have on the affairs in Europe, it would not be better that he should be allowed to make the*

* Lushington's Life of Lord Harris.

amende honorable if he be so inclined, than that we should avail ourselves of the error he has run into, and endeavour to punish him for his insolence." Having made this observation, General Harris, as an old soldier, adds, "On my part, your Lordship may depend on my following your instructions implicitly." In a subsequent letter, the General communicated to Lord Mornington a memorandum drawn up by Mr. Webbe, earnestly protesting against the orders of the supreme Government. After reviewing the position of the allies, Mr. Webbe observes, "In respect to ourselves, a very large proportion of the coast army is detached, our means of resource curtailed by the war in Europe, and our credit in this country—at least, upon this coast—bankrupt. If, therefore, with all the advantages we possessed in the year 1790, with the hearty and effectual co-operation of the Mahrattas, and with the friendship of the Nizam, our operations against Tippoo were not made successful without the greatest difficulty, I am fearful that under the general change of circumstances which I have mentioned, and which I believe to be correct, *an attack upon him now is more likely to end in discomfiture than victory.*" Mr. Webbe goes on to recount the various reasons which induced him to entertain these gloomy apprehensions: —"With the war well advanced, with our preparations and arrangements on foot for twelve months before, and with such a combined alliance as may be now despaired of, it still cost Lord Cornwallis *two campaigns* before he could besiege Seringapatam." "I doubt," he says, "that it is practicable to obtain the assistance of the Mahrattas. In respect to both the Mahrattas and the

Nizam, I think there is no reasonable ground to expect effectual assistance from either until we should strike some signal blow. Neither of them were hearty in the cause during the last war before the fall of Bangalore." Having dwelt upon the issue of the campaign in 1790, under General Meadows, and described the various physical and political difficulties that presented themselves to thwart Lord Mornington's designs, Mr. Webbe declares his belief that any hostile preparations on the part of the British Government would produce an immediate invasion by Tippoo Sultaun :—"Meanwhile, the movement of our troops and military preparations could not escape the vigilance of Tippoo : his resources are always more prompt than our own ; and as great part of his army is said to be in a state of field equipment, our attempt to strike a blow at him is likely to produce an invasion of the Carnatic, before we are in a situation to resist him." He sums up his forebodings in the following words :—"But, seeing that our resources have, by the mere operation of the war in Europe, been reduced to a state of the greatest embarrassment, and having no hope of effectual relief but in peace, I can anticipate none but the most baneful consequences from a war with Tippoo. If war is inevitable, and the present are judged the most advantageous circumstances under which it can commence, I fear our situation is bad beyond the hope of remedy."

Upon a man of less decision of character than Lord Mornington, this array of obstacles and startling difficulties would have produced some effect. To his capacious understanding and undaunted soul the arguments of the members of the Madras Council only sug-

gested new motives for energy, and additional resolution to encounter, or, if practicable, to prevent the dangers which were exhibited in such magnitude in the correspondence of the Madras Government. The authorities at Fort St. George had yet to learn how great an influence one commanding mind and resolute spirit, invested with the unfettered direction of affairs, can exercise upon the fortunes of war; and how the ardour, patriotic zeal, inflexible resolution, and resistless daring of a great man exercising the functions of government, can be conveyed by a hidden chain of electric communication to the hearts of every officer and soldier in the army, and to every member of the civil service under him. The Wellesley character was not yet understood; for, at the period of which we are writing, the Governor-General had been but a few weeks at the head of the Bengal Government. Mr. Webbe's faithful expostulations supplied his Excellency with fresh incentives to action; they pointed out more clearly than ever, the dangers that impended over the British nation in India, by exhibiting correctly the actual position of the public enemy. Without entering into all the details of the discussions between the Governor-General and the Government of Madras, which are developed in a voluminous correspondence,* it will be sufficient to quote the following passage in explanation of the line of conduct pursued in this emergency by Lord Mornington:—"If we thought it proper to enter with you into any discussion of the policy of our late orders, we might refer you to the records of your own Government, which

* MSS. Wellesley Collection.

furnish more than one example of the fatal consequences of neglecting to keep pace with the forwardness of the enemy's equipments, and of resting the defence of the Carnatic, in such a crisis as the present, on any other security than a state of early and active preparation for war. *But being resolved to exclude all such discussions from the correspondence of the two Governments, we shall only repeat our confidence in your zealous and speedy execution of those parts of the public service which fall within the direct line of your peculiar duty.*" Lord Mornington, in a letter to the Court of Directors, reviewing the whole circumstances of the war, observes, "I have no hesitation in declaring, that my original intention was—if circumstances would have admitted—to have attacked the Sultaun instantly, and on both sides of his dominions, for the purpose of defeating his hostile preparations, and of anticipating their declared object. I was concerned, however, to learn, from persons most conversant in military details at Fort St. George, that the dispersed state of the army on the coast of Coromandel, and certain radical defects in its establishments, would render the assembling a force equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, a much more tedious and difficult operation than I had apprehended."

In the meanwhile Lord Mornington applied himself to the consideration of the means of counteracting the French influence in the Deccan, and rendering the Nizam useful as an ally in the approaching contest; while he urged forward the military preparations in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and took means for re-establishing the public credit; at the same time

sounding the disposition of the Mahrattas, and carrying on a correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, if possible to secure the objects which he had in view by negotiation backed by a demonstration of a powerful force, without having recourse to actual war.

During the administration of Sir John Shore, some disturbances broke out between the Mahrattas and the Nizam. The latter power applied to the British Government for assistance; but Sir John Shore left our ally unsupported—not only declining to interfere in the quarrel, but refusing to permit the Nizam to employ against the Mahrattas the British subsidiary force which, under the treaty of Seringapatam, concluded by the Marquess Cornwallis, was placed in his territories for their protection. Sir John Shore was anxious to maintain the pacific character of his administration, and erroneously supposed that British interests could be promoted by neutrality in such a case. The unfortunate result of Sir John Shore's policy soon became manifest. The Nizam placed himself in the hands of the French Resident, M. Raymond, and exchanged his British auxiliaries for twenty-three battalions, officered by Frenchmen, carrying the colours of the French Republic, and displaying the cap of liberty on their buttons. French influence was predominant in the Court of the Nizam; and yet his Highness was one of the *allies* on whom we were to trust in case of hostilities with Tippoo Sultaun, or of a French invasion! Subsequent discoveries* fully justified Lord Mornington's suspicions that the French officers in the Nizam's army were in correspondence

* Vide Appendix.

with Tippoo Sultaun and the agents of the French Republic.

The Governor-General, finding that the time had now arrived for carrying his plans relative to this force into execution, directed J. A. Kirkpatrick, Esq., the Acting Resident at Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's dominions, at once to place himself in communication with the Soubahdar, to lay before him the whole of the circumstances connected with Tippoo Sultaun's embassy to the Isle of France; to demand his co-operation and assistance, under the 10th article of the Treaty of Paungul; and to urge upon him the immediate disbanding of the French corps, and the substitution, in their stead, of a British subsidiary force, as the basis of a new treaty. With so much skill, promptitude, and energy, were these measures taken, that the Governor-General had the satisfaction of receiving favourable answers upon every point. On the 1st of September, 1798, the new treaty was signed, by which the British subsidiary troops, formerly two thousand in number, were augmented to six thousand, under the direction of Colonel Kirkpatrick; and the British Government was pledged for the protection of the Nizam against any unjust demands of the Mahrattas. The Nizam, on the other hand, engaged to disband the French corps, whenever the whole British force should arrive in his capital; and to raise the subsidy which he paid for the maintenance of the British troops from 57,713 to 210,425 rupees per month. The new British force reached Hyderabad on the 10th of October, without exciting the least suspicion as to the object it was destined to

accomplish. The Nizam now began to waver ; but the British commander declared that he would at once attack the French corps of the Nizam, if the Soubahdar did not immediately fulfil his engagements. A proclamation was then sent to the French camp, announcing the disbanding of the corps, and declaring it to be treason for the native soldiers to obey their officers. The British force, aided by a strong body of the Nizam's horse, surrounded the camp ; eleven thousand men laid down their arms, on promise of pay and future employment ; and the French officers were delivered up to the British commander, the Governor-General ensuring to them all their property, the arrears of pay due by the Nizam, and safe conduct to France, without delay, molestation, exchange, or cartel,—conditions which were observed by Lord Mornington with the most scrupulous exactness. The remaining three thousand of the French corps, who had been removed to a distance, were without difficulty disarmed. This bloodless victory produced a powerful sensation throughout all India ; with so much address and secresy were the proceedings conducted, that the intelligence was as little expected by the British residents of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, as it was by the Courts of Poonah and Seringapatam. It struck dismay into the hearts of the disaffected, while it everywhere raised the hopes of the British.

Major-General Craig, in a note to Lord Mornington, written from Cawnpore, expresses the feeling which the disbanding of the French corps produced throughout the army :—"I cannot refrain from taking the liberty of congratulating your Lordship, which I do

with very great satisfaction, upon the successful issue of your Lordship's measures to extirpate the French influence at the Court of Hyderabad. Nothing struck me more forcibly upon my arrival in this country than the extent of the mischief which might be created by that baneful and inimical ascendancy. It was reserved for your Lordship's firmness and political wisdom to remove an evil of so dangerous a tendency. I very sincerely hope that the decision and energy which have so eminently characterised this the first step of your Lordship's administration will produce the effect of restoring our national character for vigour and spirit, upon which points I fear it has suffered much of late years in the opinion of the natives."

The correspondence between Tippoo Sultaun and the supreme Government begins to assume a degree of more lively interest as the period of the destined fall of his empire approaches. In a letter dated the 18th of July, and received by Lord Mornington at Fort William on the 2nd of August, the Sultaun writes as follows :—" Your Lordship has written that subordinate officers are naturally inclined to make misrepresentations to their respective Governments in such trivial cases, and to foment jealousies and disturbances. It is certain, then, that in plain and simple cases, the representations of interested people will not have any weight or credit whatever with your Lordship. Nevertheless, as your Lordship is desirous of obtaining an explanation and removing doubts, and as orders have been issued to the officers of Koriaul to confer with the persons who may be appointed from the Malabar side ; and fairly to ascertain and remove all

doubts, a person of rank shall also be deputed by me for this business. *By the favour of God, the bonds of friendship and union are firmly drawn between the two States, and I am to the last degree disposed to give additional strength to the beneficial system of amity and peace.* Believing me gratified by the agreeable intelligence of your Lordship's welfare, I hope you will always continue to rejoice me by your exhilarating letters." Nothing can possibly exhibit the utter perfidy and hypocrisy of this crafty diplomatist more strongly than the fact (proved by the correspondence found in Seringapatam after Tippoo's death) that the specific conditions of an offensive alliance against the British, accompanied with solicitations to the French Directory and to the Government at the Isle of France to send an auxiliary force to aid in the conquest of India, bear date two days subsequent to the date of the letter to Lord Mornington just quoted. In a letter written the 7th of August, 1798, the Governor-General intimates to the Sultaun the final report of the Commissioners in Malabar, and informs his Highness that he had directed them to make a formal acknowledgment of the justice of Tippoo Sultaun's claim to the district of Wynaad. This concession had no other effect than to draw from the Mysorean two letters advancing fresh claims. Lord Mornington now commenced an attempt to work upon Tippoo's fears. His Lordship, having gained intelligence of the glorious victory achieved by Sir Horatio Nelson at the Nile, and celebrated the event with public rejoicings in Calcutta, in a letter dated the 4th of November, 1798, communicated the news of the destruction of the

French fleet to his Highness the Sultaun. Four days afterwards Lord Mornington followed up the intelligence of the calamity which had fallen upon Tippoo's allies with the following grave expostulation :—

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO TIPPOO SULTAUN.

Fort William, 8th November, 1798.

" It affords me sincere satisfaction to learn that you have nominated two persons of integrity and honour to meet and confer with the deputies appointed under my orders by Mr. Duncan (the Governor of Bombay), for the purposes of investigating the question regarding the Talooks of Ameera and Souled. It is only by means of regular inquiry and amicable discussion that such questions can be adjusted among independent powers. My determination in the case of Wynaad, was dictated by those principles of justice and moderation which always direct the Company's Government, nor shall my scrupulous adherence to the same principles be least manifest on your claims to the districts at present in question, the possession of which shall not be withholden from you for an instant, if, after a full investigation, I shall be satisfied of the justice of your title to them.

" It is a well-known truth, that they are always the most ready to respect the just rights of others who are the most vigilant and resolute to maintain their own.

" I have understood your sentiments concerning ' the turbulent disposition of interested men who, by nature, are ever seeking opportunities of sowing seeds of dissension.' For the happiness of mankind, it is to

be lamented that these authors of confusion are too numerous, assiduous, and successful, in all parts of the world. In no age or country were the baneful and insidious arts of intrigue cultivated with such success as they are at present by the French nation. I sincerely wish that no impression had been produced on your discerning mind by that dangerous people; *but my situation enables me to know that they have reached your presence, and have endeavoured to pervert the wisdom of your councils, and to instigate you to war against those who have given you no provocation.*

" It is impossible that you should suppose me to be ignorant of the intercourse which subsists between you and the French, whom you know to be the inveterate enemies of the Company, and to be now engaged in a war with the British nation.

You cannot imagine me to be indifferent to the transactions which have passed between you and the enemies of my country; *nor does it appear necessary or proper that I should any longer conceal from you the surprise and concern with which I perceived you disposed to involve yourself in all the ruinous consequences of a connection which threatens not only to subvert the foundations of friendship between you and the Company, but to introduce into the heart of your kingdom the principles of anarchy and confusion, to shake your own authority, to weaken the obedience of your subjects, and to destroy the religion which you revere.*

Immediately after my arrival at Bengal, I read your correspondence with the late Governor-General, Sir John Shore, and with the acting Governor-General

Sir Alured Clarke ; and I perceived with great satisfaction, that in all your letters you constantly professed a disposition to strengthen the bonds of sincere attachment and the foundations of harmony and concord established between you and the Honourable Company. I received peculiar pleasure from reading your last letter to Sir John Shore, in which you signified your amicable desire that he should impress me with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so long subsisting between the two states. Your subsequent letters to me have abounded with professions of the same friendly nature.

Combining these professions of amity, on your part, with the proofs which the Company's Government have constantly given of their sincere disposition to maintain the relations of friendship and peace with you ; and adverting at the same time to your reputation for wisdom and discernment, it was natural for me to be extremely slow to believe the various accounts transmitted to me of your negotiations with the French, and of your military preparations ; but whatever my reluctance to credit such reports might be, prudence required both of me and of the Company's allies that we should adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence, and these have accordingly been taken, as you will no doubt have observed.

" The British Government and the allies wishing, nevertheless, to live in peace and friendship with all their neighbours, entertaining no projects of ambition, nor any views in the least incompatible with their respective engagements, and looking to no other objects

than the permanent security and tranquillity of their own dominions and subjects, will always be ready, as they now are, to afford you every demonstration of their pacific disposition.

" The Peishwah and his Highness the Nizam concur with me in the observations which I have offered to you in this letter, and which, in the name of the Company and of the Allies, I recommend to your most earnest consideration ; but as I am desirous of communicating to you, on behalf of the Company and their allies, a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, I propose to depute to you, for this purpose, Major Doveton, who is well known to you, and who will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself and to the allies of the Company to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion, and of establishing peace and good understanding on the most durable foundations.

" You will, I doubt not, let me know at what time and place it will be convenient to you to receive Major Doveton ; and as soon as your friendly letter shall reach me, I will direct him to proceed to your presence.

" I shall expect your answer to this letter, with an earnest hope that it may correspond with the pacific views and wishes of the allies ; and that you may be convinced that you cannot in any manner better consult your true interests than by meeting with cordiality the present friendly and moderate advance to a satisfactory and amicable settlement of all points on

which any doubt or anxiety may have arisen in the minds either of yourself or your allies.

(Signed) "MORNINGTON."

"(A true copy.) N. B. EDMINSTONE,
"Persian Translator to Government."

Before this expostulation could have reached Seringapatam, Tippoo Sultaun addressed the following letter to the Governor-General :—

TIPPOO SULTAUN TO LORD MORNINGTON.

"Dated 20th November, 1798.*

"It has lately come to my ears, from report, that in consequence of the talk of interested persons, military preparations are on foot. Report is equally subject to the likelihood of being true or false. I have the fullest confidence that the present is without foundation. By the favour of God, the conditions (or obligations) of peace established between us have obtained the utmost degree of strength and firmness; under the circumstances of their having been firmly observed and adhered to, of the daily increasing union and friendship, and of the constant intercourse of correspondence, it (the report) cannot possibly be entitled to credit; but the promulgation of such report excites my surprise. My friendly pen writes this; I hope your Lordship will be pleased to gratify me by writing of it. From a desire to maintain the obligations of treaty and engagement, I have no other intention (or thought) than to give increase to friend-

* Received 15th of December, 1798.

ship, and my friendly heart is to the last degree bent on endeavours to confirm and strengthen the foundations of harmony and union.

"Let your Lordship always continue to gratify me by gladdening letters notifying your welfare."

"(A true translation.) N. B. EDMINSTONE,
"Persian Translator to Government."

Intelligence of the invasion of Egypt by the French, was conveyed to Tippoo by the following letter from the Ottoman Porte :—

THE SUBLIME PORTE TO THE INDIAN SOVEREIGN TIPPOO SULTAUN.

Dated, Constantinople, 20th of September, 1798 ; delivered to Mr. Spencer Smith, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary.

"We take this opportunity to acquaint your Majesty, when the French Republic was engaged in war with most of the powers of Europe within this latter period our Sublime Porte not only took no part against them, but, regardful of the ancient amity existing with that nation, adopted a system of the strictest neutrality, and shewed them even such acts of countenance as have given rise to complaints on the part of other Courts.

"Thus friendly disposed towards them, and reposing a confidence in those sentiments of friendship which they appeared to profess for us, we gave no ear to many propositions and advantageous offers which had been made to us to side with the belligerent powers ; but, pursuant to our maxims of moderation and justice, we abstained from breaking with them without direct motive, and firmly observed the

line of neutrality; all which is notorious to the world.

"In this posture of things, when the French, having witnessed the greatest marks of attention from our Sublime Porte, a perfect reciprocity was naturally expected on their side, when no cause existed to interrupt the continuance of the peace betwixt the two nations, they all of a sudden have exhibited the unprovoked and treacherous proceedings of which the following is a sketch:

"They began to prepare a fleet in one of their harbours called Toulon, with most extraordinary mystery; and when completely fitted out and ready for sea, embarked a large body of troops, and they put also on board several persons versed in the Arabic language, and who had been in Egypt before. They gave the command of that armament to one of their generals named Buonaparte, who first went to the Island of Malta, of which he took possession, and thence proceeded direct for Alexandria, where being arrived, the 17th of Muharem, all of a sudden landed his troops and entered the town by open force, publishing soon after manifestoes in Arabic among the different tribes, stating in substance that the object of their enterprise was not to declare war against the Ottoman Porte, but to attack the Beys of Egypt for insults and injuries they had committed against the French merchants in time past; that peace with the Ottoman empire was permanent; that those of the Arabs who should join, would meet with the best treatment, but such as shewed opposition would suffer death: with this further insinuation, made in different

quarters, but more particularly to certain Courts at amity with us, that the expedition against the Beys was with the privity and consent of our Sublime Porte, which is a horrible falsity. After this, they took possession of Rosetta, not hesitating to engage in a pitched battle with the Ottoman troops who had been detached from Cairo to assist the invaded.

" It is a standing law among all nations, not to encroach upon each other's territories whilst they are supposed to be at peace. When any such events take place as lead to a rupture, the motives so tending are previously made known to the parties; nor are any open aggressions attempted against their respective dominions until a formal declaration of war takes place.

" Whilst therefore no interruption of the peace, nor the smallest symptom of misunderstanding appeared between our Sublime Porte and the French Republic, a conduct so audacious, so unprovoked, and so deceitfully sudden on their part, is an undeniable trait of the most extreme insult and treachery.

" The province of Egypt is considered as a region of general veneration, from the immediate proximity of the noble city of Mecca, the Keblesh of the Mussulmans (the point of the compass to which all Turks turn their face in performing their prayers) and the sacred tomb of Medina, where the tomb of our blessed prophet is fixed; the inhabitants of both these sacred cities deriving from thence their subsistence.

" Independent of this it has been actually discovered from several letters which have been intercepted, that the further project of the French is to divide Arabia

into various republics, to attack the whole Mohammedan sect in its religion and country; and by a gradual progression, to extirpate all Mussulmans from the face of the earth.

"It is for these cogent motives and considerations that we have determined to repel this enemy, and to adopt every rigorous measure against these persecutors of the faith; we placing all confidence in the omnipotent God, the source of all succour, and in the intercession of him who is the glory of prophets.

"Now, it being certain that in addition to the general ties of religion, the bonds of amity and good understanding have ever been firm and permanent with your Majesty, so justly famed for your zeal and attachment to our faith; and that more than once such public acts of friendly attention have been practised between us, as to have cemented the connection subsisting between the two countries; we therefore sincerely hope from your Majesty's dignified disposition, that you will not refuse entering into concert with us, and giving our Sublime Porte every possible assistance by such an exertion of zeal as your firmness and natural attachment to such a cause cannot fail to excite.

"We understand that in consequence of certain intrigues carried on by the French in India (after their accustomed system) in order to destroy the settlements and to sow dissensions in the provinces of the English there, a strict connection is expected to take place between them and your Majesty, for whose service they are to send over a corps of troops by the way of Egypt.

"We are persuaded that the tendency of the French plans cannot in the present days escape your Majesty's penetration and notice, and that no manner of regard will be given to their deceitful insinuations on your side: and whereas the Court of Great Britain is actually at war with them, and our Sublime Porte engaged on the other hand in repelling their aggressions, consequently the French are enemies to both; and such a reciprocity of interests must exist between those Courts as ought to make both parties eager to afford every mutual succour which a common cause requires.

"It is notorious that the French, bent upon the overthrow of all sects and religions, have invented a new doctrine under the name of liberty, they themselves professing no other belief but that of Debrees, (Epicureans or Pythagoreans); that they have not even spared the territories of the Pope of Rome, a country since time immemorial held in reverence by all European nations; that they have wrested and shared with others the whole Venetian State, notwithstanding that fellow-republic had not only abstained from taking part against them, but had rendered them service during the course of the war, thus effacing the name of the republic of Venice from the annals of history.

"There is no doubt that in their present attempt against the Ottomans, as well as their ulterior designs (dictated by their avaricious views towards oriental riches), tend to make a general conquest of that country (which may God never suffer to take effect!) and to expel every Mussulman from it under the pretence of annoying the English. Their end is to be once admit-

ted into India, and then to develope what really lies in their hearts, just as they have done in every place where they have been able to acquire a footing.

" In a word, they are a nation whose deceitful intrigues and perfidious pursuits know no bounds. They are intent on nothing but depriving people of their lives and properties, and on persecuting religion wherever their arms can reach.

" Upon all this, therefore, coming to your Majesty's knowledge, it is sincerely hoped that you will not refuse every needful exertion towards assisting your brethren Mussulmans, according to the obligations of religion, and towards defending Hindostan itself against the effect of French machinations. Should it be true, as we hear, that an intimate connection has taken place between your Court and that nation, we hope that by weighing present circumstances, as well as every future inconvenience, which would result from such a measure, your Majesty will beware against it, and in the event of your having harboured any idea of joining with them, or of moving against Great Britain, you will lay such resolution aside. We make it our especial request that your Majesty will please to refrain from entering into any measures against the English, or lending any compliant ear to the French. Should there exist any subject of complaint with the former, please to communicate it, certain as you may be of the employment of every good office on our side to compromise the same; we wish to see the connection above alluded to exchanged in favour of Great Britain.

" We confidently expect, that upon consideration of all that is stated in this communication, and of the

necessity of assisting your brethren Mussulmans in this general cause of religion as well as of co-operating towards the above precious province being delivered from the hands of your enemy, your Majesty will employ every means which your natural zeal will point out to assist the common cause, and to corroborate by that means, the ancient good understanding so happily existing between our empires.

"(A true copy.) N. B. Edminstone,
"Persian Translator to Government."

How Tippoo responded to this appeal we shall see hereafter: the arrival of Buonaparte on the Egyptian soil appears to have inspired him with the highest hopes, and to have strengthened him in all his antipathies to the British.

CHAPTER XI.

Landing of the French Army in Egypt.—Designs of the Directory of France on British India.—Effect of the Intelligence in India.—Buonaparte's Projects for the Invasion of British India.—Circumstances favourable to them.—Proposes to cross the Euphrates and the Indus.—Alexander, Tamerlane, Nadir Shah.—Friendly Disposition of Persia.—Zemaun Shah prepared to co-operate with Tippoo Sultaun and Buonaparte.—Buonaparte's Letters to the Sheriffe of Meeca and Tippoo Sultaun.—Bourrienne's Account of Buonaparte's Plans.—Conversations in St. Helena.—Battle of the Nile and Defeat of Acre.—Buonaparte's Proposals to the Emperor Paul.—The Marches of Generals Lord Keane, Nott, Sale, and Pollock through Affghanistan.—Boland and Kyber Passes.—Tippoo's Correspondence with Zemaun Shah.—Account of Zemaun Shah.—His Power and Hostility to the British.—Remarks of Lord Mornington and General Sir J. H. Craig, respecting Zemaun Shah.—Effects of the Victory of the Nile.—Lord Mornington's Plans for annoying the French in Egypt.—Letter to Lord Nelson.—Precautions in Scinde against Zemaun Shah.—Memorandum relating to Scinde.

On the 18th of October the Governor-General received intelligence of the landing of the French army under Buonaparte in Egypt; in less than a fortnight from that time the particulars of Nelson's victory at the Nile were brought to Fort William by one of the Admiral's lieutenants.

Notwithstanding the destruction of the French fleet in the Mediterranean, Lord Mornington did not relax any part of the naval and military preparations which had been commenced under his orders, being still ignorant of the fate of the French army and uncertain

whether the Directory had smuggled out ships singly and unobserved, with water and provisions from France to Suez,—whether they had sent orders to the authorities at the Isle of France to forward the frigates at that station, and the numerous privateers and other armed vessels belonging to the island, to meet Buonaparte's army on the shores of the Red Sea,—or whether any shipping or small craft might be found at Suez, or Cosier, or any other of the ports, sufficient to transport a few regiments to the coast of Malabar. Lord Mornington, in this instance too, completely anticipated the wishes of the Court of Directors, as we find it expressed in a letter from the India House to his Lordship, dated 26th of November, 1798 :— "Since the date of our letter of June last, above alluded to, the landing of Buonaparte in Egypt has been fully confirmed ; and although, by the glorious victory of Admiral Nelson over the French fleet near Alexandria, and the opposition made to their progress through Egypt by the Arabs under the authority of the Porte, the designs of the French have been considerably impeded ; yet if, contrary to our hopes and expectations, he should be able to establish himself in Egypt, we cannot but still be under apprehensions for the safety of our Indian possessions. These apprehensions are considerably increased in consequence of some hints lately suggested by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, that if the French should be able to subdue Egypt, and to establish their authority in that country, it is likely their next progressive measure would be to secure the communication of the Red Sea with the Gulph of Cambay, at the narrow Straits of Babelmandel;

and, if in their power, to detach a sufficient force to take possession of the Island of Perim, situate between the two points which include those straits."

Buonaparte, in projecting the invasion of Egypt, hoped to have been able to strike a blow at the heart of the British empire in India, and to have emulated the renown of the most mighty conquerors of Asia. The Roman eagle had spread dismay on the banks of the Euphrates; Alexander the Great, Tamerlane, and, nearer our own times, Nadir Shah, had swept over Persia, overcome the obstacles presented by the snows, crags, defiles, and deserts of the inhospitable region now so celebrated under the name of Affghanistan, and crossing the Indus had penetrated into Hindostan. Such an enterprise seemed worthy of the gigantic ambition and romantic courage of the conqueror of Italy; and it appeared to present the most feasible means of humbling the proud antagonist of France. The French Directory were accurately informed of the precise state of every portion of British India: republican agents were scattered over all parts of the peninsula: French officers and engineers were to be found in the armies of all the native powers; and by Tippoo Sultaun, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, as we have seen, French corps of considerable strength were maintained. Beside, the Government of France had the opportunity of obtaining intelligence affecting the territories of the East India Company and the native powers, through the Portuguese settlement of Goa, dangerous from its vicinity to the island and city of Bombay, as well as from the Danish factories of Serampore and Tranquebar,—the one confronting the Gover-

nor-General's house on the river Hoogley, the other affording a convenient station for watching the proceedings of the Presidency of Madras. French ships of the line, frigates, and privateers were in the Indian Seas. The Isles of France and Bourbon,—now the Mauritius,—not only enabled the Republican Government to menace British supremacy in the East, but afforded great facilities for the transmission of political information to Europe. When Buonaparte, therefore, steered his course for Alexandria, he was well aware both of the strength and the weakness of the British: and it must be admitted that circumstances appeared highly favourable to a descent upon India. The Government of Madras was in a state of absolute feebleness; and, notwithstanding the vigilance of the British cruizers, French ships captured our merchantmen off the mouths of the Ganges. Tippoo Sultaun, to whom the historian of Lord Wellesley's policy is obliged to devote so considerable a degree of attention, was a brave, energetic, wealthy and powerful sovereign, as has been sufficiently demonstrated, breathing forth vengeance against the English name, and anxious to hail the victorious leader of the eagles of France as the deliverer of India! The Nizam was an uncertain ally of the British Government,—incapable of rendering any useful aid, and formidable to his friends in consequence of the Gallic corps in his service. The Mahratta empire was disaffected and turbulent, and was deeply engaged in intrigues with powers hostile to Great Britain; the Burmese menaced the irruption which afterwards took place during the progress of the war in Mysore; and Zemaun Shah, the bold Affghan

leader, inheriting all the daring of his warlike predecessors, who had so often devastated India, threatened an invasion from the north-west, and had concerted measures with that view (as subsequent events proved) both with Tippoo Sultaun and the French. All these circumstances were favourable to the schemes and magnificent visions of Buonaparte, who already hoped to mount the throne of Aurungzebe!* And what still further tended to raise his hopes and invest the British cause with peril, was the fact that at the same moment the shores of England were menaced by an army from the opposite side of the channel, and Ireland was the seat of civil war, created by the dreadful sufferings of the oppressed class, sedulously fomented by the French Jacobinism.

One of the first acts of Buonaparte was to endeavour to open a communication with the Sultaun of Mysore, as appears from the following intercepted letters :—

LETTER OF GENERAL BUONAPARTE TO TIPPOO SULTAUN.

"French Republic.

"Liberty. Equality.

"BUONAPARTE, Member of the National Convention, General-in-Chief, to the Most Magnificent Sultaun, our greatest friend, Tippoo Saib.

"Head-quarters at Cairo, 7th Pluvoise, 7th Year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

"You have been already informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable

* The Mahratta Empire, observes Colonel Gurwood, was founded by the celebrated Sevajee over a considerable race of people about the middle of the seventeenth century, afterwards divided into several

and invincible army, full of the desire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England.

"I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your political situation.

"I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I may confer.

"May the Almighty increase your power, and destroy your enemies.

"BUONAPARTE."

"(True translation from the French.)
"FRANCIS WAPPERS, *Translator.*"

Translation of a letter from General Buonaparte to the Sheriffe of Mecca, written in Arabic, without date, and received at Juddah, 17th February, 1799.

"You will be fully informed by the Nocqueda of this Dow, how tranquil and quiet everything is at Cairo and Suez, and between those places, and of the tranquillity which is established among the inhabitants. Not a single Mamaluke oppressor remains in the country; and the inhabitants, without dread or fear, employ themselves in weaving, cultivating the ground, and in other trades, as formerly; and, by the

independent governments: the Rajah of Sattarah, a descendant of Sevajee, still being chief, although only nominally governing through the Peishwah, the chief magistrate of the empire. The principal chiefs of the Mahratta Empire, in 1803, were:—

The Rajah of Sattarah.	Dowlut Rao Scindiah.
The Peishwah.	Jeswunt Rao Holkar.
The Rajah of Berar.	Anund Rao Guickwar.

blessing of God, this will be daily increasing; and the duties on merchandise and the taxes will be lessened. The duties on merchandise are now the same as they were prior to their being raised by the Mamalukes; the merchants have every assistance granted them, and the road between Suez and Cairo is open and safe; therefore, do you assure the merchants of your country, that they may bring their goods to Suez, and sell them without dread or apprehension, and may purchase in exchange for them such articles as they may wish.

"I now send you a letter for our friend Tippoo Sultaun; oblige me by forwarding it to his country.

"(A true translation.)
(Signed) "S. WILSON."

It now seems questionable, whether Buonaparte did contemplate an attack upon India from the Red Sea, notwithstanding his letters to Tippoo: though he knew well the moral effect of a demonstration of his power there, and he would no doubt have been ready to avail himself of any favourable circumstances, if the British Government had exhibited any remissness or imbecility in that quarter. His grand scheme was to march into India in the footsteps of Alexander! In his Memoirs, written by himself,* he mentions that it was his design to have crossed the Desert; and Bourrienne, his secretary, records some conversations with Napoleon on this favourite theme: "Before he conceived the resolution of attacking the Turkish advanced guard in the valleys of Syria," observes Bourrienne, "Buonaparte had formed a plan of invading

* *Vide* Montholon.

British India from Persia. He had ascertained through the medium of agents, that the Shah of Persia would, for a sum of money paid in advance, consent to the establishment of a military magazine on certain points of his territory. Buonaparte frequently told me that if, after the subjugation of Egypt, he could have left fifteen thousand men in that country and have had thirty thousand disposable troops, he would have marched on the Euphrates." In his conversations in St. Helena Buonaparte frequently adverted to his defeat by Sir Sydney Smith at Acre as the cause of the failure of all plans in reference to British India: "Possessed of Acre, the army would have gone to Damascus and the Euphrates; the Christians of Syria, the Druses, the Armenians would have joined us. The provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which speak Arabic, were ready for a change: they were only waiting for a man. With one hundred thousand men on the banks of the Euphrates I might have gone to Constantinople or to India: I might have changed the face of the world. I should have founded an empire in the East, and the destinies of France would have run into a different course."*

That Buonaparte was deeply penetrated with the idea of achieving the conquest of the British territories in India—which exceed in extent, population, wealth, and commerce, all the provinces of Rome in the most palmy days of the empire—is evident from the plan for the invasion of India concerted between the First Consul and the Emperor Paul in February 1801. The terms of this daring project were to the following effect:—"A French army, thirty-five thousand

* Buonaparte's Conversations in *Las Casas*.

strong, with light artillery, under the command of Massena, shall be moved from France to Ulm, from whence, with the consent of Austria, it shall descend the Danube to the Black Sea. Arrived there, a Russian fleet will transport it to Taganrok, from whence it shall move to Taritzin, on the Volga, where it shall find boats to convey it to Astrakan. There it will find a Russian army of 35,000 men, composed of 15,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 10,000 Cossacks, amply provided with artillery and the horses necessary for its conveyance. The combined army shall be transported by the Caspian Sea, from Astrakan to Astrabat, where magazines of all sorts shall be established for its use. This march from the frontiers of France to Astrabat will be made in eighty days; fifty more will be requisite to bring the army to the banks of the Indus by the route of Herat, Ferah, and Candahar."

Everything leads us to suppose that if Buonaparte had been able to have established his power in Egypt and Syria (including the "thrice famous" fortress of Acre,*) he would have at least essayed to meet the Wellesleys face to face on the banks of the Indus! The extraordinary marches of our own gallant troops under Generals Lord Keane, Nott, Sale, and Pollock in Cabul, have demonstrated that it is within the verge of possibility for a European force to march through that region;—though, at the same time, we may be permitted to suggest that both the first expedition

* Acre was taken by King Richard *Cœur de Lion*;—defended by Sir Sydney Smith;—and taken on the 3rd November 1840, by Admiral Sir Robert Stopford,—the Commander-in-chief on that occasion,—not Commodore Sir Charles Napier as was inaccurately stated in a note in the *first edition*.

to enthrone Shah Soojah, and the second to avenge the massacre of our brave countrymen in arms, betrayed into the hands of a deceitful and cruel enemy, also demonstrated the ease with which the British Government of India could throw forward even into the heart of Central Asia a powerful army either for defensive or offensive purposes; and that, if fortified by British engineers and defended by British arms, no human power could force a way through the Kyber or Bolan Pass. Beside, the establishment of steam-vessels on the river Indus—"that ancient river"—affords a new and effectual barrier to an irruption from the north-west.

One of the most formidable enemies of the British power at this time, who would have been disposed to second with enthusiasm the designs of Buonaparte, and who, as was proved by a variety of documents * found in the captured city of Seringapatam, had been for some time anxiously endeavouring to concert measures with Tippoo Sultaun and others to expel the English from India, was Zemaun Shah. The following is an account of this chieftain, from a brief memoir drawn up for Lord Mornington's use :—

"Zemaun Shah, is the grandson of Ahmed Khaun Abdalla, an Affghan chief, who followed the standard of Nadir Shah, on his invasion of India, in the year 1739. His dominions extend from the left bank of the Indus, coming from the sea coast, as high up as the parallel of Cashmeer. Eastward of the Attoch, they skirt the Seick nation to some distance beyond the territory of Jamboo. They extend westward,

* See Appendix.

to the vicinity of Tershish, comprehending Cabul, Candahar, Peishere, Ghizni, Gaur, Sigistan, and Korasun,* —a tract not less than six hundred and fifty British miles in length, from east to west. A reference to Major Rennell's incomparable map, will afford a clear idea of the magnitude and importance of this empire. This formidable kingdom was founded, between fifty and sixty years since, by Ahmed Khan Abdalla. In the confusion which followed the murder of Nadir Shah, availing himself of the distracted state of Persia and Hindostan, he assumed the chuttur, or ensign of royalty, under the name of Ahmed Shah; dismembering both these empires of some of their fairest provinces. Ahmed Shah invaded India no less than seven times; his name will long be remembered there, from the dreadful overthrow he gave the united powers of the Mahratta Empire, in the year 1761, on the plains of Paniput.

"He was succeeded, in the year 1773, by his son Timmur Shah; who assumed the title of Duranni. Timmur Shah died about the middle of the year 1792, and was succeeded by his son Zemaun Shah, the present monarch. Zemaun Shah resides alternately at Candahar and Cabul; at the former during the heats, and at the latter in the cold season.

"His military establishment consists chiefly of horse, to the number, it is said, of one hundred and fifty thousand. He does not hold his infantry in much esteem, employing them only to garrison his fortresses;

* So much confusion exists in Oriental orthography, that uniformity is nearly impracticable; the form of spelling employed in the original documents has been adhered to throughout these volumes.

and, happily for us, his equipment of artillery is by no means respectable. His cavalry are all excellently mounted, incomparably superior to any native horse that can be brought to oppose them from Hindostan. The impression of terror on the minds of the Mahrattas, by the fatal carnage at Paniput, is so indelible, that it is generally believed they will hardly, if ever, be prevailed upon to sustain the charge of the Abdallis.* Among many instances of the prevalence of this dread, which the cavalry of Ahmed Shah has impressed upon the Mahrattas, it is related that a Mahratta is not ashamed, if his horse should happen to start when drinking water, to exclaim, 'Dost thou see the shadow of an Abdalli?'

"The revenues of Zemaun Shah have not been ascertained. Those he collects from the two provinces of Cashmeer and Jamboor only, are said to amount to two or three millions sterling.

"The inhabitants of Zemaun Shah's dominions are principally Mohammedans, with some natives of Hindostan, who have adopted the institution of Baba Nanuh, and are called Katri.

"They are remarkably intrepid and robust, living in the finest climate, and the richest country in natural productions in the world.

"When the power of Zemaun Shah is considered, and that his irruption into Hindostan has not only been invited by Tippoo Sultaun, but encouraged by the facility with which his ancestor spread devastation to the gates of Delhi; and when it is recol-

* The subjects of Zemaun Shah are thus distinguished, from the name of the founder of their empire, Abdallah.

lected that he is allied by marriage to the house of Timmur, and may give to his invasion, in the eyes of the natives of that country, the plea of restoring the line of their ancient sovereigns, we cannot too carefully attend to his movements.

"He has lately shown strong indications of an intention to follow the paths of the conqueror of Paniput, and kept the upper provinces in a state of considerable apprehension."

In a minute of the Governor-General, recorded in the Secret Department, Fort William, on the 12th of August, 1798, Lord Mornington expresses an opinion that there could be no doubt that Zemaun Shah really entertained the romantic project which he had announced to Sir John Shore in the month of May. After adverting to the weakened condition of the Sheiks, and the internal dissensions which had rendered the dominions of Scindiah nearly defenceless, his Lordship adds: "Zemaun Shah cannot be ignorant of these advantages; and if they should tempt him to invade Hindostan, the diversion of our force, which would be occasioned by such an event, would offer the most favourable opportunity to an attack from Tippoo upon the Carnatic. It is not improbable that the object of the intercourse between Tippoo and Zemaun Shah was, on the part of the former, at least, some such plan of joint operations."* On the 26th of September follow-

* The following is a translation of the draft of one of the numerous letters of Tippoo to Zemaun Shah, (30th of January, 1799,) found in the Palace of Seringapatam.

[After the exordium]

"Your Majesty was pleased to write, that it was the object of your

ing, Major-General Sir J. H. Craig addressed from Cawnpore a memoir, with observations on the probable invasion of Zemaun Shah; in which that gallant officer

mind to crush the infidels and to propagate the religion of Mohammed; please God, your Majesty would soon proceed with a conquering army to prosecute a holy war against the infidels, polytheists, and heretics, and free the religion of these regions from the contamination of those shameless tribes—that the profanation of polytheism should be done away by the exertions of the relentless sword, and repose and happiness be restored to the inhabitants of this country, and desiring that I would set my mind at ease upon every point. This has been fully understood, and I have also been informed word by word of what your Majesty was pleased to confide to the verbal communication of the ambassadors; all which afforded me boundless satisfaction.

"At this time, the English having received intimation of the arrival of the ambassadors of the Sirkar at your Highness's court, and of the firm connection established between the two States, have taken umbrage, and in concert with the infidels and the turbulent, taken up arms against me; and they have written, that they entertain the design to subvert the religion of Islaum—'Many are the words that proceed from their lips, but their words are nought but lies.' Please God, they shall become food for the unrelenting sword of the pious warriors—'Evil designs return upon the heads of the inventors.' We are labourers in the way of the Lord, and obedient to the command of God. We have no support, but the aid of the King of the world, who is great and powerful, and the true Apostle, the head of the true religion, the destroyer of former abominations. Placing my dependence upon those tidings of joy, 'Often doth God permit the inferior number to overpower the superior'—I am prepared to exert the energies of my mind and of my faculties, inwardly and outwardly, to carry on a holy war. Agreeably to the command of God, believing it a duty of religion, to communicate affairs of great importance, when the interests of religion are one of the same, the Syuds before-mentioned are now a second time dispatched to your Majesty's Court, for the purpose of representing all circumstances fully and personally; and from them, your Majesty will be amply informed of everything. Impelled by solicitude for the defence of religion, which is incumbent upon all the Princes of Islaum to feel, let your Majesty display your grateful endeavours, both by word and deed, to repel these abandoned infidels. 'God will aid the pure of heart, and pious!'

"(A true translation,) N. B. EDMINSTONE,

"Persian Translator to the Government."

mentions that the prominent feature in the politics of that part of the country then was, the threatened hostility of the Affghan king Zemaun Shah : "It cannot be denied," remarks General Craig, "that if the invasion, with which he menaces these and the neighbouring provinces, takes place, it will be an event productive of much mischief at any rate, and pregnant with no small degree of eventual danger; for it may be held as certain, that if he succeeds in his attempts so far as to penetrate to Delhi, he will become exceedingly formidable. The glare of victory, the influence of religion, and the allurements of plunder, will draw to his standard numbers probably greater than have appeared united in one cause since the days of Aurengzebe!" Such was one of the foes who menaced the British nation in India. It may easily be imagined how eagerly Buonaparte must have desired to take advantage of the favourable disposition of this chief, either in facilitating his march into India, across the Indus, or in co-operating with himself and Tippoo Sultaun in their views respecting the Carnatic, by creating a diversion in the north-western provinces: it will be seen at a glance how important it had become to prevent,—by the celerity and decision of the British movements,—Buonaparte, Tippoo Sultaun, Zemaun Shah, and the Mahrattas from acting in concert, and affording each other aid, or co-operation,—not to say forming a junction of their forces. The vigour and promptitude evinced by the Governor-General in penetrating the designs of his numerous adversaries,—anticipating their movements, and effectually frustrating them,—suppressing domestic enemies with a strong hand, and crushing the plans of

the enemy before they had arrived at maturity,—on a consideration of these various combinations of circumstances, shine forth in conspicuous splendour.

The cannon of Nelson, which destroyed the French fleet at Aboukir, it has been said, re-echoed from one end of Europe to the other: its thunder reverberated throughout Asia; and though it failed to inspire Tippoo Sultaun with a salutary terror, or induce him to abandon hopes of receiving French aid, it cannot be doubted that the heroism of the British sailors, on that memorable occasion, taken in connection with the disastrous repulse of Buonaparte at Acre, and the ruin of Tippoo Sultaun, put an end to any serious danger of a French invasion of India;—though, but for the active measures of Lord Mornington in galling the enemy on the shores of the Red Sea, and afterwards pushing forward a formidable force to aid in the expulsion of the troops under the command of Kleber from Egypt, it is probable that some desperate attempt upon Hindostan might have been made.*

* The Governor-General exulted in the success of our gallant fleet; and upon several public occasions paid a merited tribute to the valour of the great naval hero who had conferred such advantages on his country. In the following note, which is the only one addressed to Nelson which I have met with in the collection of Lord Wellesley's papers, his Lordship takes occasion to communicate the success which had crowned the British arms in the East:—

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VICE-ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, K. B., ETC.

"MY LORD,

"Having judged it to be advisable to transmit to Europe dispatches of great importance, addressed to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and to the Honourable the Secret Committee, by the way of Egypt, I request your Excellency's assistance in accelerating the passage of the

Among the precautionary measures adopted by Lord Mornington, was the appointment of a Resident in Scinde. The following memorandum, exhibiting the political motives which induced the noble Lord to make this movement toward the establishment of British interests in Scinde, derives fresh interest from the events which have recently occurred in that country under the direction of the Earl of Ellenborough :—

MEMORANDUM RELATING TO SCINDE.

" A Resident having lately been appointed and a factory established at Scinde, under private directions from the Governor-General to the Governor of Bombay, it may be useful to explain the circumstances which have led to the adoption of those measures.

" It is well known that the Company heretofore had a factory at Tattah, on the Indus, and that a variety of considerations, which it is needless to review in this place, made it expedient many years ago to withdraw it. It was in the contemplation of the supreme Government in the year 1797, to re-establish this factory; no conclusive measures were, however, taken for this purpose till the beginning of October, 1798, when the rumours of Zemaun Shah's approach for the second time, induced the Governor-General to suggest to the

officer charged with those dispatches from Egypt to England by an express armed vessel, or by any other safe and expeditious conveyance.

" I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency printed copies of the Calcutta Gazettes, and of other documents, which will apprize you of the nature and objects of the war in India, and of the rapid and glorious and decisive success attending the British arms in every quarter of Hindostan, or of the Deccan, to which they have been directed. I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, my Lord, your Excellency's most faithful and obedient servant, " WELLESLEY."

Governor of Bombay the possibility of creating a diversion of Zemaun Shah's force, by affording certain encouragement to the nations occupying the Delta, and lowest parts of the Indus. These suggestions were repeated somewhat more in detail in a letter of the 24th of October, from the Governor-General to the Governor of Bombay.

"In pursuance of these directions, Mr. Duncan lost no time in dispatching an agent to Scinde. He preferred employing, in the first instance, a native agent, who was accordingly furnished with suitable presents for the different chieftains in that quarter, and with necessary instructions for the regulation of his conduct.

"Abul Hassan, the native agent deputed by the Governor of Bombay to Futtah Ali Khan, the Prince of Scinde, was favourably received by that chieftain; in consequence of which Mr. Duncan was instructed to encourage and cultivate the amicable disposition manifested by Futtah Ali Khan, and to endeavour to settle a factory in Scinde—not so much with a view to commercial as to political advantages. He was desired at the same time to pay attention (whenever such a factory should be established) to the best means of facilitating a communication with it; and directed to enter into no engagements with Futtah Ali Khan, which might impose on the British Government an obligation of supporting Zemaun Shah to any greater extent than by furnishing him with arms and ammunition.

"The inclination of Futtah Ali Khan having, in consequence of these general directions, been sounded by

the Governor of Bombay, and that prince having appeared to be as well disposed to the re-establishment of our factory and to the introduction of an European agent as could be wished, Mr. Crow, a civil servant belonging to the presidency of Bombay, was appointed to that situation, and dispatched to Scinde in the month of May last.

"It is satisfactory to perceive by the documents received, that the establishment in Scinde, independently of the commercial benefits which, with proper management, are likely to be derived from it, promises at least to open to us a far better channel of intelligence relative to the motions and designs of Zemaun Shah than any other which we have been hitherto able to strike out, if it should not even place within our reach the means of materially annoying Zemaun Shah, in the event of his resuming at any future period his hostile designs against the possessions of the Company and their allies in Hindostan."

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Mornington leaves Fort William for Madras.—Received by Lord Clive the new Governor.—Change in the Sentiments of the Madras Government respecting the Governor-General's Plans.—Intelligence that Zemaun Shah had advanced to Lahore.—Sir Alured Clarke detained at Calcutta in consequence.—Army of Observation under General Sir J. H. Craig on the Frontiers of Oude.—Tippoo Sultaun's Delays to reply to the Governor-General's Expostulation.—Letter from his Highness to Lord Mornington.—Tippoo's Account of the Embassy to the Mauritius.—He evades Lord Mornington's Propositions.—The Governor-General replies, and points out the dangerous Consequences of Delay.—Further Correspondence.—Lord Mornington receives Intelligence of a fresh Embassy from Tippoo to the French, embarked at Tranquebar.—Orders the Army to advance in Mysore.—Military Arrangements.—Letter from Tippoo, saying that he was going on a Hunting Expedition.—Declaration of the Governor-General in the Name of the British Government and the Allies.—Various Private Letters written by Sir Alured Clarke, from Fort William, to Lord Mornington at Madras, during the Progress of the Military Operations.

Lord Mornington now resolved to remove to Madras to hasten the preparations in progress; and in order that he might have the means of more easy communication with Tippoo Sultaun. His Lordship was received at Fort St. George by Lord Clive, who had recently assumed the office of Governor at that presidency. His admirable dispatches and skilful measures, together with the presence of Colonel Wellesley at Madras, had, Mr. Lushington assures us, wrought so great a change in the feelings of the leading men in

the settlement, that when he arrived at Madras in December, he had the satisfaction of seeing all hearts and hands united for the furtherance of his wise and vigorous counsels.

Before his departure from Fort William, intelligence had reached his Lordship that Zemaun Shah had crossed the Indus at Attock, and had reached Lahore with a large army. This movement compelled the Governor-General to leave the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Alured Clarke, in the charge of the government at Calcutta, and to concentrate an army of observation on the frontiers of Oude, under the command of General Sir J. H. Craig.

Tippoo took no notice of the Governor-General's letter of the 8th of November, till the 18th of December; under which date he addressed a communication in reply to Lord Mornington, which was not received at Fort George till the 25th of December. In the Sultaun's letter the following is the account given of the embassy to the Isle of France: "In this Sircar there is a mercantile tribe who employ themselves in trading by sea and land. Their agents purchased a two-masted vessel, and having loaded her with rice, departed with a view to traffic. It happened that she went to the Mauritius, from whence forty persons, French and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers and the rest servants, paying the hire of the ship, came here in search of employment. Such as chose to take service were entertained, and the remainder departed beyond the confines of this Sircar; and the French, who are full of vice and deceit, have perhaps token advantage of the departure of the ship to

put about reports with the view to ruffle the minds of both Sircars." With respect to Lord Mornington's proposition to depute Major Doveton to discuss with Tippoo a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, the Sultaun replies—"It has been understood. By the blessing of the Almighty at the conclusion of the peace, the treaties and engagements entered into among the four Sircars were so firmly established and confirmed as ever to remain fixed and durable, and to be an example to the rulers of the age; nor are they, nor will they ever be, liable to interruption. I cannot imagine that means more effectual than these can be adopted for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties."

On the 9th of January, 1799, Lord Mornington addressed another expostulation to Tippoo Sultaun, recapitulating the various circumstances connected with his intrigues with France, and replying to the various points in the Sultaun's letter of the 18th of December. "I trust," remarks his Lordship, "that your Highness will favour me with a friendly letter in reply to this; and I most earnestly request that your reply may not be deferred for more than one day after this letter shall reach your presence. *Dangerous consequences result from the delay of arduous affairs.*" On the 11th of January Lord Mornington received a brief complimentary note from Tippoo, written on the 2nd; it, as usual, professed solicitude for peace and tranquillity, but made no allusion to the proposed negotiation.

On the 16th Lord Mornington forwarded to Tippoo

a copy of the letter from the Sublime Porte to the Sultaun of Mysore,* and accompanied that document with an earnest appeal: "May the admonition of the Head of your own faith dispose your mind to the pacific propositions which I have repeatedly, but in vain, submitted to your wisdom! And may you at length receive the ambassador who will be empowered to conclude the definite arrangement of all differences between you and the allies, and to secure the tranquillity of India against the disturbers of the world!"

Tippoo left the Governor-General's solemn and urgent appeal of the 9th of January unanswered during the whole of the month of January, though the distance between Seringapatam and Madras is but three hundred miles; and it became evident that it was the Sultaun's object to delay the commencement of hostilities till the setting in of the rains, which, on the 14th of May, 1791, had defeated Lord Cornwallis's plans for attacking Seringapatam.

At this juncture the Governor-General received intelligence that Tippoo had commissioned two native Vakeels,† who, together with one of the French officers lately arrived from the Isle of France, were at Tranquebar, about to embark on a mission to Buonaparte or the French Directory. On the 3rd of February, therefore, Lord Mornington dispatched his commands to General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, to enter the territory of Mysore with the army assembled at Vellore, and to General Stuart to cooperate with the Bombay army from Malabar. The

* *Vide supra*, page 217.

† Envoys.

army at Vellore consisted of 20,000 men,* of whom 2635 were cavalry. The Nizam's contingent, commanded by his Highness's son, Meer Allum, and under him by Colonel Wellesley, (relative to whose appointment to this command we shall have occasion to make some observations hereafter,) consisted of the whole of the British detachment serving in the Deccan, now 6500 strong, with an equal number of the Nizam's infantry, and a large body of horse. The army of Bombay under General Stuart, assembled at Cananore, consisted of 6420 fighting men; while two separate coöperating forces were assembled, under Colonels Brown and Read, in the southern districts of Mysore and the Carnatic, while the Governor-General called upon Vice-Admiral Rainier to be prepared to coöperate with the forces, if necessary, by operations on the coast of Malabar. "An army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, more perfect in discipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal of its officers," his Lordship remarks, with pardonable exultation, "never took the field in India." The extraordinary expedition with which this vast force was collected and equipped, at once demonstrates the vastness of the resources of the British empire in the East, and the energy of the Governor-General, who found the de-

* The army consisted (exclusive of the army of Bombay and of the Nizam's contingent) of — Europeans, 5000; natives, 13,900; battering train, 40; field ordnance, 57; howitzers, 7, rice for 40 days; arrack for 67 days: salt for 40 days; sheep and slaughter-cattle for 28 days; biscuit for 10 days; grain for the cavalry for 20 days; in cash, 5,00,000 star pagodas; in bank notes, 90,000 ditto (a pagoda being a gold coin valued at about eight shillings).

fences of India, but a few months previously, in a state of the most dangerous decay and feebleness.

Ten days after Lord Mornington had issued his orders to General Harris to advance into Mysore, the following characteristic note was received :—

FROM TIPPOO SULTAUN TO LORD MORNINGTON.

"I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your Lordship's two friendly letters; the first brought by a camel-man, the last by hircarrahs ;* and understood their contents. The letter of the Prince, in a station like Jumsheid, with angels as his guards, with troops numerous as the stars, the sun illumining the world of the heaven of empire and dominion, the luminary giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory and power, the Sultaun of the sea and the land, the King of Rome (*i. e. the Grand Seignior*) be his empire and his power perpetual !—addressed to me, which reached you thro' the British envoy, and which you transmitted, has arrived.—Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to dispatch Major Doveton (about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written) slightly attended (or *unattended*). Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters notifying your welfare."

"(A true translation.) N. B. EDMINSTONE,
"Persian Translator to the Government."

* Hircarrahs are messengers employed in the conveyance of letters, and are sent sometimes as guides, or agents to procure intelligence.

On the 22nd of February Lord Mornington addressed his last note to Tippoo, referring him to General Harris, who was now empowered to negotiate with his Highness; and on the same day promulgated the following document:—

"*Declaration of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, for all the forces and affairs of the British Nation in the East Indies, on behalf of the Honourable the East India Company and the allies of the said Company, their Highnesses the Nizam and the Peishwa.*

"A solemn treaty of peace and friendship was concluded at Seringapatam between the Honourable Company and the Nabob Asoph Jah and the Peishwa on the one part, and the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun on the other part; and from that day all commotion and hostility ceased. Since that day the three allied states have invariably manifested a sacred regard for the obligations contracted under that treaty with the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun. Of this uniform disposition, abundant proofs have been afforded by each of the allies. Whatever differences have arisen with regard to the limits of the territory of Mysore, have been amicably adjusted without difficulty, and with the most exact attention to the principles of equity, and to the stipulations of treaty. Such has been the solicitude of the allies for the preservation of tranquillity, that they have viewed with forbearance, for some years past, various embassies and military preparations on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, of a tendency so evi-

dently hostile to the interests of the allies, as would have justified them, not only in the most serious remonstrances, but even an appeal to arms. On the part of the British Government every endeavour has been employed to conciliate the confidence of the Sultaun, and mitigate his vindictive spirit by the most unequivocal acknowledgment and confirmation of his just rights, and by the removal of every cause of jealousy which might tend to interrupt the continuance of peace. These pacific sentiments have been most particularly manifested in the Governor-General's recent decision on Tippoo Sultaun's claim to the district of Wynaad, and in the negotiation opened by his Lordship with regard to the districts of Amerah and Souleah. In every instance the conduct of the British Government in India towards Tippoo Sultaun has been the natural result of those principles of moderation, justice, and good faith, which the legislature of Great Britain and the Honourable East India Company have firmly established as the unalterable rule of their intercourse with the native princes and states of India.

"The exemplary good faith, and the pacific disposition of the allies since the conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam, have never been disputed even by Tippoo Sultaun. Far from having attempted to allege even the pretext of a complaint against their conduct, he has constantly acknowledged their justice, sincerity, and good faith; and has professed, in the most cordial terms, his desire to maintain and strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord with them.

"In the midst of these amicable professions on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, and at the moment when the

British Government had issued orders for the confirmation of his claim to Wynaad, it was with astonishment and indignation that the allies discovered the engagements which he had contracted with the French nation, in direct violation of the treaty of Seringapatam, as well as of his own most solemn and recent protestations of friendship toward the allies.

"Under the mask of these specious professions and of a pretended veneration for the obligations of treaty, Tippoo Sultaun dispatched ambassadors to the Isle of France, who, in a period of profound peace in India, proposed and concluded in his name an offensive alliance with the French, for the avowed purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the Company, and consequently against the Peishwa and the Nizam, the allies of the Company.

"The ambassadors, in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, demanded military succours from the French, and actually levied a military force in the Isle of France, with the declared view of prosecuting the intended war.

"When the ambassadors returned in a French ship of war from the Isle of France, Tippoo Sultaun suffered the military force which they had levied for the avowed purpose of making war upon the allies, to land in his country, and finally he admitted it into his army; by these personal acts ratifying and confirming the proceedings of his ambassadors.

"This military force was not, however, sufficiently powerful to enable him immediately to attempt his declared purpose of attacking the Company's possessions; but in the mean while he advanced

his hostile preparations conformably to his engagements with the French; and he was ready to move his army into the Company's territories whenever he might obtain from France the effectual succours which he had assiduously solicited from that nation.

"But the providence of God and the victorious arms of the British nation frustrated his vain hopes, and checked the presumptuous career of the French in Egypt, at the moment when he anxiously expected their arrival on the coast of Malabar.

"The British Government, the Nizam, and the Peishwà, had not omitted the necessary precaution of assembling their forces for the joint protection of their respective dominions. The strict principles of self-defence would have justified the allies, at that period of time, in making an immediate attack upon the territories of Tippoo Sultaun; but even the happy intelligence of the glorious success of the British fleet at the mouth of the Nile did not abate the anxious desire of the allies to maintain the relations of amity and peace with Tippoo Sultaun. They attempted, by a moderate representation, to recall him to a sense of his obligations, and of the genuine principles of prudence and policy; and they employed every effort to open the channels of negotiation and to facilitate the means of amicable accommodation. With these salutary views the Governor-General, on the 8th of November, 1798, in the name of the allies, proposed to dispatch an ambassador to Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpose of renewing the bonds of friendship, and of concluding such an arrangement as might afford effectual security against any future interruption

of the public tranquillity; and his Lordship repeated the same proposal on the 10th of December, 1798. Tippoo Sultaun declined, by various evasions and subterfuges, this friendly and moderate advance on the part of the allies; and he manifested an evident disposition to reject the means of pacific accommodation, by suddenly breaking up, in the month of December, the conferences which had commenced with respect to the districts of Amerah and Souleah, and by interrupting the intercourse between his subjects and those of the Company on their respective frontiers.

"On the 9th of January, 1799, the Governor-General being arrived at Fort St. George (notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances in the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun), renewed with increased earnestness the expression of his Lordship's anxious desire to dispatch an ambassador to the Sultaun.

"The Governor-General expressly solicited the Sultaun to return an answer within one day to this letter; and as it involved no proposition either injurious to the rights, dignity, or honour of the Sultaun, or in any degree novel or complicated, either in form or substance, it could not require a long consideration. The Governor-General waited with the utmost solicitude for an answer to the reasonable and distinct proposition contained in his letter of the 9th of January, 1799. Tippoo Sultaun, however, who must have received this letter before the 17th of January, remained silent, although the Governor-General had plainly apprised that prince, that dangerous consequences would result from delay. In the meanwhile the season for military operations had

already advanced to so late a period, as to render a speedy decision indispensable to the security of the allies. Under these circumstances, on the 3rd of February (eight days having elapsed from the period when an answer might have been received from Seringapatam to the Governor-General's letter of the 9th of January), his Lordship declared to the allies, that the necessary measures must now be adopted, without delay, for securing such advantages as should place the common safety of the allies beyond the reach of the insincerity of Tippoo Sultaun, and of the violence of the French. With this view, the Governor-General, on the 3rd of February, issued orders to the British armies to march, and signified to the commander of his Majesty's squadron, that the obstinate silence of the Sultaun must be considered as a rejection of the proposed amicable negotiation.

"At length, on the 13th of February, a letter from Tippoo Sultaun reached the Governor-General, in which the Sultaun signifies to his Lordship, that 'being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, he was accordingly proceeding on a hunting excursion;' adding, that 'the Governor-General would be pleased to dispatch Major Doveton to him unattended, or slightly attended.'

"The allies will not dwell on the peculiar phrases of this letter: but it must be evident to all the states of India that the answer of the Sultaun has been deferred to this late period of the season with no other view than to preclude the allies, by insidious delays, from the benefit of those advantages which

their combined military operations would enable them to secure. On these advantages alone, (under the recent experience of Tippoo Sultaun's violation of the Treaty of Seringapatam, and under the peculiar circumstances of that prince's offensive alliance with the French,) can the allies now venture to rely for the faithful execution of any treaty of peace concluded with Tippoo Sultaun.

"The allies cannot suffer Tippoo Sultaun to profit by his own studied and systematic delay, nor to impede such a disposition of their military and naval force as shall appear best calculated to give effect to their just views.

"Bound by the sacred obligations of public faith, professing the most amicable disposition, and undisturbed in the possession of those dominions secured to him by treaty, Tippoo Sultaun wantonly violated the relations of amity and peace, and compelled the allies to arm in defence of their rights, their happiness, and their honour.

"For a period of three months he obstinately rejected every pacific overture in the hourly expectation of receiving that succour which he has eagerly solicited for the prosecution of his favourite purposes of ambition and revenge. Disappointed in his hopes of immediate vengeance and conquest, he now resorts to subterfuge and procrastination; and by a tardy, reluctant, and insidious acquiescence in a proposition which he had so long and repeatedly declined, he endeavours to frustrate the precautions of the allies, and to protract every effectual operation, until some

change of circumstances and of season shall revive his expectations of disturbing the tranquillity of India by favouring the irruption of a French army.

"The allies are equally prepared to repel his violence and to counteract his artifices and delays.

"The allies are therefore resolved to place their army in such a position as shall afford adequate protection against any artifice or insincerity, and shall preclude the return of that danger which has so lately menaced their possessions. The allies, however, retaining an anxious desire to effect an adjustment with Tippoo Sultaun, Lieutenant-General Harris, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's and the Honourable Company's forces on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, is authorized to receive any embassy which Tippoo Sultaun may dispatch to the head-quarters of the British army, and to concert a treaty on such conditions as appear to the allies to be indispensably necessary for the establishment of a secure and permanent peace.

"Dated, Fort St. George, 22nd of February, 1799, by order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council. "Jos. Webbe." *

"(A true copy.) N. B. Edminstone,
"Persian Translator to Government."

The following interesting series of private letters, written by Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief

* Notwithstanding the freedom with which Mr. Webbe had censured the plans of the Governor-General (*vide supra*, page 202), his Excellency reposed the utmost confidence in this upright public servant, whose integrity of character has also been highly praised by the Duke of Wellington.

of the forces, left in charge of the Government of Bengal, will explain the progress of events during Lord Mornington's absence in Madras, and afford a gratifying testimony of the cordiality and zeal with which his Lordship's plans were seconded by that able and experienced officer :—

FROM LIEUT.-GEN. SIR ALURED CLARKE, K.B., TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON, K.P. &c.

(Private)

"Fort William, March 5th, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"Your letter of the 19th last reached me on the 3rd instant, and relieved my mind extremely by the manner in which you mentioned the progress of the army and the extent of the provision that the supply of treasure sent from hence afforded it ; as I was very apprehensive lest the delay of its arrival at Madras should have been attended with serious inconvenience. Cooke* made a more expeditious voyage from the mouth of the river than we expected, and he seems to have moved with redoubled alacrity in pursuit of the enemy you heard of, and that he afterwards learnt was blocking up this port and capturing our vessels at the Sandheads, where he met with the formidable ship *La Forte* on the night of the 28th, and took her after an engagement of an hour and forty minutes. The action was highly honourable to him and the British navy, and in these points of view must be gratifying to us all ; but alas! the melancholy cloud that is thrown over the bright prospect by the severe if not mortal

* Commander of H. M. ship *Sybille*.

wound that our truly gallant friend has received; and the loss of that worthy officer, Captain Davies, of your Lordship's family, who accompanied him, has cast a cruel gloom on the spirits of every one, and grieved me to a degree that I cannot describe, but which I have reason to think your own feelings will enable you to estimate. All we have yet learnt you were informed of on Sunday, and I wait with impatience further accounts. In my last letter I by accident neglected to notice that part of yours respecting the Body Guard, which, as you wish it, I should be happy was with you; but the great expense that would attend their going by sea, and the little use the horses would be for a considerable time after such a voyage as they would probably have at this season of the year, and the impossibility of their making the journey by land within the time you would want them, are, I flatter myself, reasons that will on reflection justify me with your Lordship for not having ordered them to Madras. Mons. Marchand was on the point of sailing for Europe agreeable to your first suggestion, as his papers, though of a nature to create strong suspicion, did not appear to us such as would convict him as a spy to the extent you seem to imagine. I shall, however, at your desire detain him here, and have them examined in the way you point out. Tippoo's man Rajh-Kawn was on board the unfortunate *Earl Fitz William*, on his way to Madras, and has been suspected of being the incendiary of that ship, from which he escaped with the rest of the people that were saved: nothing, however, has appeared against him on the enquiry which has taken place to warrant it; and he will now be forwarded to

Madras according to the directions you left for that purpose. Your Lordship's last determination about the 76th regiment has given me much pleasure, for I really lamented the loss of it extremely before the capture of *La Forte;* and the number of French prisoners this event adds to those we had before, would have alarmed me for the safety of Fort William without the aid of this corps; as we should only have had the Company's second European regiment, which you know is very weak and *not well composed*, to perform the duties of the garrison. I heard your brother Henry was much pleased on his visit to the army, and I hope he returned in good health. I am, my dear Lord, with great truth and esteem, your most obedient, and most faithful humble servant,

"ALURED CLARKE."

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private)

"Fort William, March 8th, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Notwithstanding the hope we reasonably entertained from the spontaneous address of the Rajah of Nepaul to you, that Vizier Ali* would be seized, or at least driven from his territories, we have not yet heard of his being even molested; but, on the contrary, of his being still countenanced and aided in raising men by the Betowal Rajah, who is certainly under the control of the former. A strong detachment is, however, gone

* The Nabob of Oude deposed by Sir J. Shore; for an account of his assassination of the British resident at Benares, see vol. ii.

to Goorackpoore, and a party from Burragong has arrived at Boggah; so I hope we shall have favourable accounts from that quarter soon. All the papers respecting Ambagee's connection with the wretch Vizier Ali being in Persian, I can only judge of them through the medium of others; but Barlow seems confident, and I think Messrs. Speke and Cowper concur in opinion, that they relate to a recent transaction, and not to any period Mr. Lumsden supposes. The matter is, however, very mysterious; but I think it probable that Mr. Edminstone will be able to throw some light upon it. I was much obliged to your Lordship for the copy of Tippoo's last letter, which appears to me one of the most extraordinary productions I ever saw. It is evident that he is desirous of avoiding war under present circumstances; and I am still in hope that when he feels it pressing close upon him, he will, to avert the present danger, avail himself of the excuse furnished by the letter of the Grand Seignior, who for that purpose he so highly extols, and open a negotiation which may terminate in the immediate satisfaction and permanent security to us and our allies that you may require.

"I had written so much of this letter, when I was obliged to quit it to attend the Council, where I was highly gratified by the receipt of yours of the 24th ultimo; and I should have been completely so had it not contained a request for an additional native force, to be sent from hence to the Northern Circars, which is wholly out of my power to comply with, as a letter I lately had the honour to write to you will have explained. Indeed, my dear Lord, both the matter and

manner of your letter inspires me with the most confident hope of success; and I trust I need not take much pains to assure you that I shall, no less on private than public grounds, rejoice in your vigorous exertions being repaid by the consummation so devoutly to be wished for, within the time that you have prescribed. We have not heard from the *Sybille* since the letter of the 2nd till this day, which has occasioned much uneasiness to me and to all the rest of poor Cooke's friends. I am, however, happy to inform you that his wounds are less desperate than was at first imagined—the bone in his arm not being shattered, and the wound in his body, though very bad, not quite so alarming as was supposed. In short, there is reason to hope his valuable life will be saved, as his spirits are good, and his constitution equal to making a fair struggle with his misfortunes. I must beg the favour of your Lordship to give my compliments to your brother, and to Colonel Kirkpatrick, who I hope are well, and to do me the justice to believe that I am, with true respect and esteem, my dear Lord, your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

"ALURED CLARKE."

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private)

"Fort William, March 19th, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The last private letter I had the honour to write to you was dated the 8th instant, since which I have received five from your Lordship, dated the 2nd,

3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th, from which I was happy to learn that affairs wore so favourable an aspect towards Seringapatam. The equipment of the army from Malabar, as well as that of the Carnatic, seems to be more complete than could have been expected; and I still entertain sanguine hope that their steady and active progress towards the capital will incline Tippoo to implore your mercy before it is besieged; and I shall be heartily glad to have the opportunity of congratulating you on so glorious an event. The grievances of Mr. Perron and his associates had not operated on me so forcibly as you seem to think, or to prevent my putting your desires respecting them into execution; and they would all have embarked in the ships allotted to them, if you had not changed the destination of some. Mr. Perron means, I believe, to avail himself of the indulgence granted to him; but, as there are no others in the same situation in regard to fortune, the same security could not be taken from them, which would have occasioned some dilemma; but this was removed *from us*, by their being actually on board the ships at Sangur when your note arrived, and it would have been extremely difficult to bring them back, as well as occasion much delay. They therefore proceed to Madras, subject to such directions as you may think fit to give on their arrival there.

* * * * *

"The Burmahs* came, staid, and went off in a strange way. The letters they left in their works contained an extraordinary mixture of peace and war. The fa-

* The inhabitants of the Burman empire, more usually termed the *Burmese*.

cility and expedition with which they can approach our frontier in force is, however, manifested so clearly, that while the cause of their late conduct remains, it is more than possible that they may return, even this season, and far from improbable that they will renew their visit the next. I therefore think it right that part of the troops, ordnance, and stores that were ordered to Chittagong, should proceed there with Major-General Deare, who I have directed to enquire into the state of, and examine, the frontier, with a view to his pointing out the best posts for troops and stations for gun-boats and armed vessels, in order to afford protection to the settlement in general.

"I am extremely anxious for late accounts from Mysore, as matters there, if not settled by consent, are becoming very critical. It is with much satisfaction I acquaint your Lordship that our gallant friend Cooke's wounds are in a progressive state of amendment, and there is little doubt that he will soon be well. Pray give my best wishes to Mr. Wellesley, and be assured I am, with true respect and regard, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most faithful humble servant, "ALURED CLARKE."

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private)

"Fort William, 24th April, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,

* * * * * *

"You will easily judge of our anxiety to hear further from Harris. God send him success! indeed I have

no doubt of that in every conflict between the two armies; but time, that waits for no man, is of such importance in our present undertaking, that it is impossible to over-rate the value of every day. I trust, however, that we shall have good news soon. Our last accounts from Lucknow are, the Vizier Ali and his adherents had been roughly handled by ours, and the Candahar cavalry in two skirmishes; but they had not been fortunate enough to catch him, which I much lament, as I greatly fear he will by some means or other effect his escape. If he comes into our hands alive, your wishes respecting him *as stated in your last letter* shall be duly attanded to; as shall those with regard to Shums-oo-Doulah,* and the other *delinquents* of that class. I was sorry to hear you had been an invalid, and hope to find from your next letter that both rheumatism and bile had passed away as completely as your thoughts. Pray do me the favour to present my best wishes to your brother and the other gentlemen of your family. Cooke has come to Mr. Muir's house at Choringee, and is, I am happy to tell you, much better. Many pieces of bone work through the flesh and give him, poor fellow! much pain; but he bears everything with the greatest fortitude, patience, and resignation. I am, my dear Lord, with the utmost respect and esteem, your Lordship's most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

"ALURED CLARKE."

"P. S. My eyes are still so weak that I can scarcely see what I write, which must be my apology for this scrawl."

* The brother-in-law of the Nabob of Bengal.

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

"Fort William, May 13th, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's several letters of the following dates. April 7th, 17th, 18th, 26th, 28th, 30th, and May the 4th; and I shall have great pleasure in complying with all your wishes expressed therein, to the utmost of my power."

"Mr. Barlow will have informed you of our determination not to examine Shums-oo-Doulah under the promises which you authorised, which I think you will approve, as well as of the examination of some others concerned in the conspiracy, who, though inferior agents, were equally capable of giving every information he possessed as will appear from some of the papers that have been forwarded to you. I do not yet find that Europeans of any description are much implicated in these transactions; but if any should be discovered, you may rely on our taking proper notice of them: and your hint respecting the delicate conduct it may be necessary to observe towards the Nabob until your return, which I must always add I most anxiously wish may be soon, shall be duly attended to in all its parts. The propriety of having sufficient force in the vicinity of the principal cities had not escaped my notice, and was attended to so far as the various other objects that were necessarily kept in view would permit; but you must be aware that the collected force which has been employed in the Vizier's

dominions, and the numerous detachments that have been called for in other places must have rendered our state in this quarter such as my former letters have described.

Your last account of the situation of affairs in Mysore is so favourable as to give the best grounded hope that the next we receive may announce the surrender of Seringapatam, which I most anxiously and ardently wish as an event of the utmost importance to our interests in India, particularly at the present crisis; and if we should be so fortunate as to secure Tippoo with his capital, it would relieve us at once from all the difficulties that are to be apprehended from his continuing at the head of an army in the field, and enable you to return as many of the troops belonging to Bombay and Bengal as will secure the former against the attack of Buonaparte if he should be able to make one, and secure the latter against any attempts of his, the Mahrattas, or the internal enemies of either the Nabob-Vizier's or our own dominions; all which objects deserve serious attention, and make me extremely desirous to get back such parts of the troops belonging to this presidency as can possibly be spared as soon as may be practicable: and another European regiment is, in my mind, much wanted here. I could therefore wish the 86th, or some other to be sent, unless your Lordship should be satisfied its services are more requisite on the Malabar coast, which must depend on circumstances that are not within my knowledge, but will be in yours the moment the business now in hand is concluded, and will subsequently

determine your judgment. Lieutenant-Colonel Scott will express the sense he entertains of your Lordship's good opinion of, and kindness towards him in much fitter terms than I can ; I shall therefore only say that however I may lament the loss the army at large, and myself in particular, will sustain by his removal from the office of Adjutant-General, which required all the talents, assiduity, and integrity that he so eminently possesses, and are so rarely to be found, that I despair of being able to unite them in another. I am nevertheless happy to see him placed in a situation where those good qualities will be likely to render the most essential public service, as I consider that to be which you have selected him to execute. I shall therefore do all I can to promote the speedy accomplishment of your wish, whatever inconvenience may result to myself from it. Poor Cooke has been struggling on much in the same way he was when I last wrote—sometimes better, sometimes worse again : he has lately suffered much from matter formed in the lungs, which was discharged by the mouth a day or two ago, and relieved him a good deal. He is, however, in a very reduced and weakly state, insomuch that it is impossible not to feel very doubtful of his recovery, and proportionably uneasy about him. Though he has not been attended by either Dick or Hare, there is every reason to be satisfied that he has experienced every degree of professional skill, and the most kindly persevering care that either he or his friends could wish.

"Pray do me the favour to present my best compliments to your brother and Colonel Kirkpatrick, and

be assured that I am with great respect and esteem, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

"ALURED CLARKE."

The following letters were written by Lord Mornington during the progress of the military operations. The first is addressed to Mr. Liston, the British minster at Philadelphia. The second relates to the irruption of the Burmese into the British territory: the third announces to Sir Alured Clarke the startling fact of Buonaparte's establishment at Suez :—

TO R. LISTON, ESQ.

HIS MAJESTY'S ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE UNITED STATES, PHILADELPHIA.

"Fort St. George, April 1st, 1799.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 22nd of June and 17th of July,

"I have issued the necessary orders to the Board of Trade at Calcutta to forward by every means in their power the views of the captains of the American vessels recommended by you; and you may rely upon my manifesting every disposition to favour American ships as may find it expedient to touch at any port within the limits of the Government-general of the British possessions in India.

"M. Malartics's proclamation at the island of Mauritius has, no doubt, come to your knowledge; and before this letter reaches you, you will probably have heard that in consequence of that and many other

acts of aggression on the part of Tippoo Sultaun against the Company, we are at this moment engaged in war with that prince. I have every reason to hope that, before the end of May, the war will be brought to a successful issue, and that the Sultaun's power will be so reduced as to leave us little to apprehend from his future machinations, even though his allies the French should be enabled to afford him that assistance of which he now stands so much in need.

"No authentic accounts have reached me of Buonaparte's army since the 26th of August. I am satisfied, however, that our contest with Tippoo will be terminated before he can derive any succour from the French army in Egypt.

"My brother desires to be particularly remembered to you. He has not forgotten your kindness to him when he was secretary to your embassy at Stockholm.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, with the utmost respect and regard, your faithful servant,

"MORNINGTON."

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ALURED CLARKE, K.B.

(By Cypher. By Express.)

"Fort St. George, 28th April, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I HAVE delayed until this time any detailed communication of my sentiments with regard to the conduct to be observed toward the Burmahs, in the daily expectation of receiving from Calcutta the letters which they left in Chittagong at the time of their retreat; apprehending, however, that embarrassments may arise in Bengal from any further delay of my

opinion, I shall endeavour to communicate it under disadvantage of the imperfect information now before me.

"If the letters in question are expressed in a tone of menace and arrogance, I am induced to think, from what I have learnt of the Burmah government, that any attempt to send an ambassador with a pacific proposition in reply to such letters, would be construed as an indication of fear, and would only serve to provoke further insolence and violence. I think, however, that it is absolutely necessary, at all events, to transmit without delay to the Burmah government, a detailed statement of the real nature of the transaction which they have made the unjust pretext of a violation of our territory.

"This statement should be accompanied by the most explicit declaration of our unaltered disposition to maintain the relations of peace and amity with the Burmah government, and at the same time it would be proper to express an equally firm determination to repel by force any attempt to invade our territories.

"If the letters left by the Burmahs at the time of their retreat should not be of the hostile and arrogant spirit supposed in the first case which I have stated, it would be advisable to send Captain Cox immediately over to Arracan or Rangoon, according as he may think most expedient, for the purpose of making the necessary explanations, and of bringing this disagreeable affair to an amicable issue.

"It would be neither humane nor just to deliver up any of the emigrants to the vengeance of the Burmah government, excepting such as can be proved to be delinquents of that description which, according to the

law of nations, may be reciprocally and rightfully claimed by independent powers in a state of peace. If any such delinquents should be really found among the emigrants, Captain Cox should be authorised to deliver them up.

"I trust that these suggestions will enable you to act immediately in this embarrassing business; when I shall receive the letters of the Burmahs from Calcutta, I will forward any further observations which may arise from an examination of their contents.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, &c.

"MORNINGTON."

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, SIR ALURED CLARKE, K. B.

(Private and Secret. Original by the *Peggy*. Duplicate by Express.)

"Fort St. George, 4th May, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The enclosed intelligence from Bombay will show you that my uniform expectation is now verified. Buonaparte is established in Egypt, has fortified Suez, and is collecting craft at the head of the Arabian Gulf. No news of Blankett.* The season being now open for coming down the Arabian Gulf, and a possibility existing that some part of the French force may escape the vigilance of our cruisers, it is become necessary to look to the protection of every point which the enemy may attempt, and to take the best precautions for our security.

"It is a considerable time since I recommended to your attention the consideration of such measures as might be adopted to defend Calcutta against the ef-

* The Admiral.

fects of any sudden enterprise. I am persuaded that you have taken the best practicable measures for that purpose, and that you have turned your mind to the means of frustrating any attack, either directly from the river or from the side of Chittagong. I think it would be advisable immediately to prepare gun-boats and such armed vessels as you deem expedient to cruise off the Sand Heads ; I trust Captain Cooke may be well enough to assist in the preparations of such naval defences as may appear necessary and practicable. The French prisoners and French inhabitants of Calcutta and of the provinces now demand the most vigilant control. As some of the King's ships will constantly be here during the ensuing monsoon, I think it would be more advisable to send the prisoners here than to Ceylon for convoy ; the *Nonsuch* might convey them to this place with, perhaps, some additional aid.

" The number of French established at Calcutta and in the provinces, is now a most alarming evil : I must request you will immediately institute a most active inquiry into the state of their numbers and conduct ; and that you will send to Europe, without hesitation, every man who cannot give you a satisfactory account of his principles and connections. At Calcutta there are not less than one hundred and fifty French,— all, I believe, dangerous subjects. They abound in Chittagong, where not a Frenchman should be left on any account. It would also be desirable to send to Europe as many as possible of the inhabitants of Chandernagore. In the name of the French, I mean to include all foreign Europeans connected

with France. At Chinsurah there are many most malevolent persons who ought to be sent to Europe. In the interior of our provinces every Frenchman indiscriminately ought to be taken up and sent to Calcutta, and from thence, if a suspicious character, to Europe. At Calcutta, M. Vialars is stated to be of so turbulent a character that he ought not to be suffered to remain in India. You should also send away the two persons whose names I enclose. It appears to me that you cannot give too serious an attention to this point; for, if Buonaparte should ever reach India, I need not say what the conduct of all the French within our provinces would be. I recommend Mr. Macklen as a person who can give you information relative to the French in Calcutta. The magistrates of the cities and districts must assist you in the provinces.

"Our last authentic accounts from the army were dated the 18th of April; reports have reached me from various quarters, by which it is certain that the siege is proceeding rapidly; I keep a vessel in readiness to despatch express to you whenever I shall receive a decisive account. I believe nobody will *now* contest the policy of my measures for the early reduction of Tippoo.

"I have concealed my knowledge of Buonaparte's condition, and I request you to do the same; perhaps, however, the *Bombay Courier* may divulge the whole.

"I think, under the present circumstances, the 86th ought to be sent to Bombay whenever it shall arrive: let me have your opinion on the subject.

"I send this letter by sea, and overland in duplicate (both by express), as I think not a moment is to be lost in taking the precautions which I have stated.

"I understand that there are now at Calcutta several persons from Botany Bay; they should all be embarked for Europe without a single exception, —men, women, and children.

"Although our militia has manifested much zeal, it is deficient in one material respect; no place or signal of rendezvous has yet been fixed for the moment of danger. This point demands immediate attention.

"I have not in this letter given a positive instruction for the removal of the French indiscriminately, but I wish you to understand that the more you remove the more relief I shall feel from a very serious anxiety. Ever, my dear Sir, with the greatest regard and esteem, yours most faithfully,

"MORNINGTON."

CHAPTER XIII.

Lord Mornington writes to Sir Alured Clarke at Calcutta.—Conspiracy of Shums-oo-Doulah.—The Mainspring of Government only to be touched by the Principal Mover.—Apprehensions of an Attack on Calcutta.—Buonaparte in Egypt.—The Nabob of Bengal.—General Stewart's Operations against Vizier Ali.—Success in Mysore.—Anxiety at Cooke's Illness.—The Calcutta Newspapers.—Lord Mornington strongly censures their Conduct.—Declares his intention of adopting Harsh Measures towards the Editors.—Orders, in the case of the refractory, that their Papers should be suppressed by force, and their Persons sent to Europe.—The Discoveries in Bengal.—Success of the Army against Tippoo.—Disposition of the Forces.—Vizier Ali.—Oude.—The Indian Press.—The *Mirror*, the *Telegraph*, and the *Post*.—Reprobates their Conduct.—Orders Mr. Bruce to be embarked for Europe.—New Regulations for the Newspapers.—Penalty of any Infraction of them.—Establishes a Censorship.—Remarks on these Proceedings.—Their arbitrary Character condemned.—Lord Wellesley's Authority cited by Sir J. Malcolm, in 1822, in favour of a Censorship on the Press.—Evidence of Thomas Love Peacock, Esq., 1834.—Suppressed Passage in the Report of Major Kirkpatrick.—Reference to these Proceedings omitted in the published Dispatches of Lord Wellesley.—Inferences from these Facts.

THE following letters, which are principally interesting in consequence of their development of the Earl of Mornington's views and feelings with respect to the freedom of the press in India, were written, as the reader will observe from the date and place from whence they are addressed, from Madras to the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ALURED CLARKE.

"Fort St. George, 17th April, 1799.

"My dear Sir,"

"I have just received the communication which you instructed Mr. Barlow to make to me on the subject of the message addressed to you by Shums-oo-Doulah.

"I entirely approve of your judgment in referring so delicate and important a question to my decision. Whatever temporary inconveniences may occasionally result from the delay incident to such references, the principle on which they are founded ought to be strictly observed in all cases of great moment. It is equally certain that no disadvantages can arise from such a system of precaution which will not ultimately be over-balanced by its general benefits and permanent effects. The mainspring of such a machine as the government of India can never be safely touched by any other hand than the principal mover.

"I consider it to be of so much importance to bring to light every part of the conspiracy which Shums-oo-Doulah appears to have planned, that, conceiving him to be the only person capable of disclosing the whole train of the plot, I feel no hesitation in authorising you to assure him that on condition of his making so full and clear a discovery as shall satisfy me that he has used no equivocation or reserve, his life shall be spared. I shall expect from him in return for this act of clemency, (the only atonement which it is in his power to make to the British Government for his de-

tected treason), the most ample disclosure, not only of his projects, but of the names and designs of all the instruments and agents already employed or intended to be employed by him or any of his accomplices in the execution of their design. It is not improbable that some of these instruments may be Europeans, (I allude to the French and other foreigners,) residing at this time in Bengal. This is then a point to which, in the examination of Shums-oo-Doulah it will be proper to pay the most particular attention; and it will, I doubt not, be an object of your immediate care to secure the persons of all such Europeans without delay.

"I request that the result of every examination of Shums-oo-Doulah may be communicated to me as speedily as possible.

"I am persuaded that you have taken the proper steps to secure Calcutta against the danger of a sudden attack from the river. If the Imaum should assist General Buonaparte, (whom I believe still to be in Egypt with 17,000 or 18,000 men), their object would be to sail directly up the Hoogly and to surprise Calcutta.

"The conduct to be pursued with regard to the Nabob of Bengal, until my return to Calcutta, will require the most delicate management. At present we possess no direct proof of his being implicated in the conspiracy of Shums-oo-Doulah. Reasonable ground, however, exists for believing that he was at least acquainted with the proceedings of Shums-oo-Doulah. It will therefore be proper that a most vigilant eye should be kept on all the motions of the Nabob, and

that as respectable a military force as possible should be stationed at Berhampore, as well with a view to intimidate the confederates of Shums-oo-Doulah, as for the purpose of suppressing with promptitude any disturbances which they may endeavour to excite. But I must request you, as far as may be practicable consistently with these precautions, to avoid all direct indications of a suspicion of the personal views of the Nabob of Bengal.

"I am concerned to observe the slow progress made by Major-General Stewart against Vizier Ali and his banditti. I scarcely know a point of more importance to our interests in India than the capture or death of that young assassin, and the dispersion of his followers.

"I congratulate you on the success which has hitherto attended our operations in Mysore, of which I transmit to you the details regularly as I receive them. Nothing can more strongly confirm the policy of those operations than the late train of events, and the nature of the designs disclosed in Bengal. I hope in God that Cooke will recover; the last accounts are favourable, but I am still in a state of great anxiety on that most affecting subject.

"Let me call your attention to the newspapers at Calcutta. I enclose two paragraphs, for either of which—particularly for that relating to the batteries on the river—the editor ought to be sent to Europe. I contrived to get them into some degree of order, but they are now returning to their vocation, and if not checked, will create serious mischief. I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting rules for the conduct

of the whole tribe of editors; in the mean time, if you cannot tranquillize the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force, and send their persons to Europe. I trust you will issue a proclamation against the publication of newspapers on Sunday.

"Although there may not exist the same grounds of jealousy at Patna and Dacca as at Moorshedabad, yet as these two former cities are like the last, extremely populous, and abound in proper instruments for such conspirators as Shums-oo-Doulah, it is highly expedient that as strong a force as possible should for some time to come be kept in their neighbourhoods. I am, &c.

"MORNINGTON."

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ALURED CLARKE, K.B., &c.

"Fort St. George, 26th April, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 6th and 13th of April. I entirely agree with you in your view of the probable result of the late discoveries in Bengal: they will prove beneficial to our interests, provided they can be made the foundations of a just and effectual system of police—a subject which now occupies much of my attention.

"You have already received my private letter respecting Vizier Ali and Shums-oo-Doulah. If the former should be apprehended, I shall forward to you a letter from me in council, to the same effect as my private letter.

"Colonel Kirkpatrick, by my orders, has regularly forwarded, by express, every account which we have received from the army; we have also taken advantage of the departure of every ship bound to Calcutta. Our last accounts of the 15th are highly favourable, and leave no doubt that the success of the expedition will be speedy and complete.

"I am pefectly satisfied of the impossibility of detaching any force from Bengal in the present moment; I feel, indeed, so much anxiety on the subject of our situation in the provinces, that I doubt whether it might not be advisable to send another King's regiment to Calcutta as soon as the 86th shall arrive from the Cape—an event which may be expected every day. The 29th light dragoons will embark in the course of a few days for Calcutta. If you should not want the 86th immediately, I propose to send it to Masulipatam, from whence it may be easily conveyed to Bengal, if any necessity should arise. In the meanwhile, its presence at Masulipatam will tend to keep the Circars quiet, as well as to give confidence to the Nizam against the dangers which now menace his dominions.

"I am very desirous that you should get rid of all your French prisoners; and my brother has stated to Barlow by this post a plan for conveying them to the Cape, if you can give them convoy to Trincomalé.

"I am very happy, from your dispatches of the 13th instant, to find that there was so far a prospect of securing Vizier Ali. I cannot agree in Sir James Craig's reasons respecting Ambagee; and even if they were well founded, you know that the conduct of Ambagee is neither the sole nor the principal

cause of my anxiety to maintain a large force on the frontier of Scindiah's dominions. But I request that you will not suffer the tranquillity of the interior of Oude to be endangered by even this object, however important it appears to me.

"I cannot describe to you the uneasiness and anxiety which has been excited in my mind by the perusal of several paragraphs which have lately appeared in the newspapers at Calcutta. I have already offered some suggestions to you upon that subject in my letter of the ——. I cannot but suspect the existence of a systematic design of mischief among the editors of several papers, particularly the *Asiatic Mirror*, the *Telegraph*, and the *Post*. In these papers paragraphs continually appear tending to magnify the character and power of the French, and to expose every existing or possible weakness in our situation. I have transmitted to you some articles of this tendency. To-day I find in the *Post* of the 12th, under the form of a letter from the Nizam's army, a plain suggestion to Tippoo of the advantages which he might derive by sending his Looties into the Carnatic; and in the *Mirror* of the 10th, column 2nd, sheet 1st, you will find a dissertation on the causes, nature, and extent of the conspiracy discovered in Bengal. The wickedness of this dissertation is scarcely equalled even by any of the publications which preceded the late Irish Rebellion. I refer you to the paper itself, which requires no comment. I request you will embark the editor of that paper (whom I understand to be a Mr. Bruce, a desperate Jacobin) for Europe, in the first ship which shall sail from Calcutta, or you may

send him to Madras, from whence he may proceed in the *Thetis* or *Worcester*.

"On my return to Calcutta, it is my intention to adopt an entirely new system for the regulation of the newspapers. In the mean while, for the purpose of putting some restraint on this serious mischief, I request you to adopt, without delay, the following regulations :—

"1. To compel every printer of a paper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.

"2. Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary of the Government.

"3. No paper to be published on a Sunday.

"4. *No paper to be published (at all) until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorised by him for the purpose, in order that nothing may be published tending to convey information to the enemy, or to excite alarm and commotion within our own dominions.*

"5. The penalty of offending against any part of these regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

"I am aware that these regulations will occasion great trouble in the Secretary's Office, on account of the extravagant number of newspapers now published in Calcutta. On my return to Bengal, I am determined to limit that number within very narrow bounds ; but in the interval some inconveniences must be suffered, or the public security must be exposed to constant hazard.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, &c., "MORNINGTON."

This, it must be confessed, seems rather a summary mode of proceeding;—somewhat more in consonance with principles of Asiatic despotism than with those enlightened views of public liberty advocated by the noble Lord in his speech in College Green, on the freedom of the press. It was a stretch of absolutism so repugnant to our conceptions of right and law at home, that few will be disposed to admit, without great reluctance, the justifying plea of irresistible necessity. That the conduct of the editors of the Calcutta newspapers, taking the Governor-General's description of it to be accurate, was very reprehensible, there can be no doubt: in a dependency of the Crown, beset with perils at every hand—insurrections, plots, conspiracies, invasion, menacing,—it was highly criminal to publish observations calculated to point out to a foreign or domestic enemy the weak points in the British defences. According to our common law it amounts to high treason for a subject to give intelligence to foreign powers at open war with the sovereign: and though by this intelligence is meant information secretly conveyed with a treasonable design, it is not necessary to employ argument to prove that the offence with which the Earl of Mornington charged the editors in question was a very grave one, likely to be productive, under the existing circumstances of British India at that crisis, of mischievous consequences; but we still doubt whether it justifies the peremptory decree—"You will embark Mr. —— for Europe!" Was it right to dispense with all forms of law? to condemn without trial? to punish an Englishman without affording him an opportunity of making a regular defence? to strike without

hearing a word of expostulation? Necessity, we know, is, in the hands of rulers, very stern in its requirements; but we must still inquire, does it appear that it was necessary to take the high-handed course directed in the letters to the Commander-in-Chief, and Vice-President of Council? A public trial, it will be said, would have been both inconvenient and injurious to the public interest: things are justifiable in times of war which are not justifiable under ordinary circumstances: everything must bend to state necessity when a foreign enemy is approaching; so that in a state of war men will patiently endure restraints which in times of peace would be regarded as the most odious tyranny. The truth of this may be admitted; and it is right that mankind should understand that war, with all its glory, pomp, and circumstance, involves a necessity of trampling, as well upon individual liberty as on the majesty of the law and the safeguard of public freedom.

When the Earl of Mornington penned the above letters from Madras to the authorities at Fort William, he felt himself to be the commander of a beleaguered or menaced citadel, and no one will dispute that he acted solely with reference to the general safety and defence of the empire committed to his charge. It would be uncandid not to make allowance for the peculiar difficulties of his position; but viewed under the most favourable circumstances, the order respecting the editor of the *Calcutta Mirror* wears the appearance of a harsh and arbitrary exercise of supreme authority. Lord Mornington had himself so often received valuable information of the

movements and designs of the enemy from newspapers, that it is easy to appreciate the motives of the anxiety manifested by his Lordship to prevent, as far as possible, the French in Egypt, the Indian Seas, or the partisans of France in India from deriving a knowledge of any facts detrimental to the British Government through the same medium.

The proclamation of General Malartic, so eventful in its consequences, first met his eye in one of the public prints; and when the important news that Buonaparte had established himself in Egypt reached him, in one of his private letters to Sir Alured Clarke he manifests the greatest uneasiness lest the fact should be prematurely divulged in the Bombay papers.* On one occasion we find Lord Mornington sending expresses to Ceylon, Goa, Mysore, and Malabar, with copies of an article which he had found in a Frankfort publication that had been transmitted to him;† and in both his private and official letters to the British embassy at Constantinople, he frequently mentions his anxiety to have the newspapers transmitted to him as speedily as practicable. Indeed, in 1800 he officially directs the Resident at Bussorah to dispatch by boat or cruiser, "once every fortnight," all Continental journals and other public newspapers, "so highly important and interesting at the present conjuncture." It may be added as an illustration of the utility of newspapers in time of war to those who have the direction of armies, that Buonaparte first formed the resolution of leaving Egypt for

* *Vide* letter to Sir A. Clarke, 4th May, 1799.

† *Vide* letter to Hon. F. North, 27th October, 1799.

Europe in consequence of a paragraph in a European journal, presented to one of his generals by an officer of the British squadron during a temporary truce.*

Such considerations would have justified a strong cautionary circular to the printers, proprietors, and editors of all publications in the presidencies, and called for a clear and definite exposition of the laws in India respecting the public press, or, if the press in India was not privileged with the protection of the laws, for an explicit warning beforehand of the will and fixed intention of the Government: for no tyranny is so oppressive or insupportable as an attempt to hold men responsible for the infringement of rule of action undefined, concealed, or precarious;—"*misera est servitus ubi jus est vagum aut incognitum.*" Still, no such considerations as have been adverted to, seem to warrant, or indeed (trying the matter by the test of "necessity") to demand either the decree of the 17th of April, 1799, or the regulations prescribed in Lord Mornington's letter to Sir Alured Clarke, of the 26th of the same month, directing the permanent establishment of a Censorship. These regulations vary in no material particular from the ordinances promulgated by the star-chamber, A. D. 1585. Those ordinances commanded every printer to certify his presses to the Stationers' Company, on pain of having his types defaced, and suffering a year's imprisonment;—and ordered that no printer who had only set up in his trade within six months should exercise it any longer, nor any commence in future *until the excessive multitude of printers were diminished*—that none should print any book, matter, or thing

‡ Bourrienne's Memoirs.

whatsoever, *until it had been first seen, perused, and allowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London, except the Queen's printer*—that every one selling books contrary to the intent of this ordinance should suffer three months' imprisonment. The star-chamber ordinances will suffer little from a contrast with the paragraph in Lord Mornington's letter: "In the mean time, if you cannot tranquillize the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force, and send their persons to Europe;"—followed up by the expression of his Lordship's determination "to limit" the number of newspapers in Calcutta "within very narrow bounds," and to place the number so arbitrarily limited, under the *surveillance* of the Secretary of the Government.

The authority of Lord Wellesley was, in subsequent times, frequently referred to by the advocates of restrictions on the Indian press. In a minute by Sir John Malcolm, in 1822, arguing that, though, where the knowledge of the people, their institutions, and forms of government are such as to admit of the freedom of the press, the good to the public arising from its unrestricted liberty preponderates over the accompanying evils of such freedom, yet that, from the peculiar nature and constitution of the community in India, a free press was unsuited to that country,—Sir John Malcolm observes: "The office of Censor was, I believe, first instituted by Lord Wellesley, in consequence of an article appearing in the *Mirror* newspaper, which took a comparative view of the European and Native population, with some speculations on the subject that were not deemed less dan-

gerous from there being no evil design on the part of the writer." In the evidence of Thomas Love Peacock, Esq., Senior Assistant Examiner of India Correspondence before the Select Parliamentary Committee, in 1834, the following history of the Censorship on the Press in India is given :*

" The first case is that of Mr. William Duane, who was sent home, by the power vested in the Government, in the year 1794. Then there are two or three other cases which may be passed over. The next is the case of Captain Williamson, in 1798, who had published a letter in one of the Calcutta papers which was considered by the Government to be a letter tending to excite military insubordination. He was suspended from the Company's service, and came home ; he was afterwards permitted to return to India. The next is the case of Mr. Charles M'Lean, who was sent home in the same year (1798) for an offence against the Government. The next important circumstance is the imposition of Censorship. After several other instances of misconduct, the Censorship was imposed on the 13th of May, 1799. After this there were several prohibitory orders issued to the editors of newspapers not to insert anything relating to military matters, and two or three times rules were laid down for the conduct of the press and the printing offices generally. The next occurrence to which I need advert, is the improper conduct of the editor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, Dr. Bryce.† After this, in 1818, on the 28th of August, the Censorship

* *Vide* Report of Select Committee on the *Calcutta Journal.*

† In Lord Wellesley's MS. Mr. Bruce.

was removed, and rules were laid down for the conduct of the press, which they were expected to observe."

Lord Mornington appears, in some degree, to have been influenced in this course of policy by the representations made to his Lordship when at the Cape of Good Hope, by Major Kirkpatrick, an officer who had recently been British Resident at Hyderabad.

The following passage in the answer to the second question, occurs in Major Kirkpatrick's report: "There cannot, perhaps, be a fitter occasion than the present for remarking on the pernicious effects too often produced (I confine myself in what I say to the Court of Hyderabad) by such of our Indian newspapers as are conducted either by inconsiderate or by ill-principled men; but especially by the latter. The Residency has more than once, in its attempts to prove the falsehood or exaggeration of certain reports respecting the French successes, been gravely referred for the authenticity of them to English prints; nor has it unfrequently happened that such falsehoods or exaggerations have appeared in papers professing to to be published by authority, or at least enjoying the favour of Government. The *Bombay Courier* (which is in exclusive possession of all the public business of that Presidency), and the *Asiatic Mirror* (a Calcutta print) fall particularly under the description of papers managed by persons of politically evil dispositions. The arguments in vindication of the unrestrained freedom of the press in England certainly cannot be reasonably or fairly applied to the state of British society in India. It is difficult, in-

deed, to conceive any political good or right it can serve to promote or secure among the latter; while, on the other hand, the danger to the national interests in such a country, with which it is pregnant, is very considerable. I am not likely to be supposed desirous of the abolition of the Indian press, were such a thing practicable; but certainly every reflecting man and good subject must wish to see its communication of, and comments on public events under better regulations than they are at present."

Sincerely admiring the character of the great man whose policy we are discussing, and compelled by the weight of irresistible evidence to acknowledge the general wisdom and utility of his proceedings, it is a subject of regret to the writer to be obliged to exhibit this part of Lord Wellesley's public conduct in an unfavourable light: but fidelity, as well to historic truth as to the principles of public freedom,* forbid suppression of matter of fact and concealment of opinion on so important a subject.

Beside, we are not without reasons for believing

* "The proposition I mean to maintain is this:—that a man not intending to mislead, but seeking to enlighten others with what his own reason and conscience, however erroneously, have dictated to him as truth, may address himself to the universal reason of a whole nation, either upon the subject of governments in general, or upon that of our own particular country; that he may analyse the principles of its constitution, point out its errors and defects, examine and publish its corruptions, and warn his fellow-citizens against their ruinous consequences, and exert his whole faculties in pointing out the most advantageous changes in establishments which he considers to be radically defective, or sliding from their objects by abuse. All this every subject of this country has a right to do, if he contemplates only what he thinks would be for its advantage, and but seeks to change the public mind by the conviction that flows from reasonings dictated by conscience".—*Erskine.*

that the matured judgment of the Marquess Wellesley coincided with his early sentiments of respect for the institution of a free press expressed in the Irish House of Lords, and condemned as indiscreet the exercise of power that has called forth these remarks. *In the edition of the Dispatches published under his Lordship's superintendence, though a part of Lord Mornington's letter to Sir Alured Clarke, of the* 17*th of April,* 1799, *has been printed, the passages referring to the Calcutta newspapers do not appear. The letter of the* 26*th of April is entirely omitted: and the passage from Major Kirkpatrick's report, quoted above, has been erased from the printed copy; having been crossed out in the original manuscript, apparently by Lord Wellesley's pen.* The fact that the noble Lord bequeathed his collection of papers to the nation, proves that he neither desired concealment nor feared scrutiny: but the circumstances just mentioned seem to warrant the inference that he did not desire his policy towards the press of India to be held up as a model for imitation.

CHAPTER XIV.

Tippoo Sultaun, instead of proceeding on a Hunting Expedition, commences a March to attack General Stuart at Seedapore, five days before the British entered Mysore.—Defeated in his Attack on General Stuart's Force.—Retreats.—Re-crosses Mysore, and falls upon the Divisions of Colonel Wellesley and General Floyd at Mallavelly.—Tippoo suffers a severe Defeat.—Retreats to Seringapatam.—General Harris advances.—Operations of the Army before Seringapatam.—Tippoo Sultaun's Letter to General Harris.—The General's Reply.—Operations continued.—Second Letter from Tippoo.—General Harris transmits the Terms of the only Peace that would be granted.—Tippoo declines to accept them.—Writes again.—Preparations for storming Seringapatam.—Tippoo's Fortitude and Valour.—General Baird leads the Assault.—Capture of the Fortress and City.—Death of Tippoo Sultaun.—Forbearance of the British Troops.—The Sultaun's Family and Zenana respected.—Consequences of the Fall of Seringapatam.—Letter of General Harris in a Sealed Quill to Lord Mornington.—Letter of Major Beatson to his Lordship.

In Tippoo's letter to Lord Mornington, received on the 13th of February, he announced his intention of proceeding on a *hunting expedition.* The only game, however, which his Highness really contemplated pursuing was a British General,—which in former times had not unfrequently been the object of his chase. Having succeeded in raising an expectation that it was his intention to move in the direction of Mangalore, he secretly left his camp on the 28th of February, at the head of twelve thousand men, and rapidly marching across the country, passed the frontier, and quitting his

own territories, suddenly fell upon the Bombay army, under General Stuart, the total strength of which was 6420. It is important to remark, as a commentary upon all Tippoo's pacific professions, that he began this movement *five days before General Harris entered Mysore,* and that he was engaged in an attempt to cut to pieces by surprise this British force at Seedapore, in the dominions of one of the allies of Great Britain, at the very moment that, at the opposite side of the kingdom, General Harris was entering Mysore. Tippoo succeeded in throwing a body of his troops between the detachments of Generals Stuart and Hartley, and for a time threatened the annihilation of the British force. Eventually, however, Tippoo was repulsed at all points ; and without awaiting to strike a second blow, hurried back to Seringapatam. In this affair the British lost 143 men ; Tippoo's loss was, doubtless, considerable.

Tippoo now concentrated his whole force* against the army of Madras under General Harris ; and endeavoured to make an impression upon it, before a junction was formed between the forces of Generals Harris and Stuart. Tippoo Sultaun in person led on a furious onset on the British lines at Mallavelly, re-

* From an abstract of the state of Tippoo Sultaun's affairs, drawn up by Captain, afterwards Sir John Malcolm, it appears that the strength of Tippoo's army was as follows :—Regular horse, 6000 ; irregular horse, 7000 ; regular infantry, 30,000 ; guards, &c., 4000 ; Carnatic pæons, 8000 ; pioncers, 6000 ; exclusive of 144 field-pieces, 36 battering-guns, a rocket brigade, elephants, camels, mules, &c. Tippoo's French force comprised :—Four officers, 40 private Europeans, 350 half-cast and Caffries, Lally's party ; six officers, 50 private Europeans, 100 half-cast and Caffries, lately arrived from the Mauritius. Total, 10 officers, 90 private Europeans, and 450 half-cast and Caffries.

markable as the place where the illustrious hero of a hundred fights, then Colonel Wellesley, fought his first battle in India. A formidable body of Mysore horse bore down upon Colonel Wellesley's division, consisting of the 33rd regiment and the Nizam's forces. The 33rd were ordered to reserve their fire till the enemy were within pistol shot; they then poured in a dreadful fire, and, quickening step, attacked Tippoo's troops with the bayonet. General Floyd's dragoons, from the centre, charged at this crisis, and a total route of the Mysoreans took place. They fled, having suffered a loss of two thousand, who fell on the field or in flight.

On the 7th of April, General Harris sat down before Seringapatam. It will be observed that up to this time Tippoo had not attempted to open communications with the General, or reply to Lord Mornington's last letter. On the 9th of April disheartened, but not subdued, by the result of the battles at Seedapore and Mallavelly, Tippoo sent the following note to the English camp :—

FROM TIPPOO SULTAUN TO GENERAL HARRIS.

"The Governor-General Lord Mornington, Behauder,* sent me a letter, a copy of which is enclosed. You will understand it. I have adhered firmly to treaties; what then is the meaning of the advance of the English armies and the occurrence of hostilities. Inform me. What need I say more ?"

He was referred by the General to the letters of

* Literally the Invincible, employed as a title of courtesy.

Lord Mornington, and the declaration of war on the part of the allies :—

FROM GENERAL HARRIS TO TIPPOO SULTAUN.

" 10th April, 1799.

" Your letter enclosing copies of the Governor-General's letter has been received. For the advance of the English and allied armies, and for actual hostilities, I refer you to the several letters of the Governor-General, which are sufficiently explanatory on the subject."

Tippoo made no farther attempt at negotiation till the 20th of April. The junction between the Bombay and Madras armies had been safely effected on the 14th, and after crossing the dangerous river Cavery, by which Seringapatam is protected, an enfilading battery was established, and the enemy were dislodged from an important position four hundred yards in advance of their entrenchments. Tippoo therefore proposed a conference for peace.

TIPPOO SULTAUN TO GENERAL HARRIS.

" In the letter of Lord Mornington it is written, that the clearing up of matters at issue is proper ; and therefore you, having been empowered for the purpose, will appoint such persons as you judge proper for conducting a conference and renewing the business of a treaty. You are a well-wisher of both states. In this matter what is your pleasure ? Inform me, that a conference may take place."

General Harris, in reply to this overture, transmitted to Tippoo the preliminary articles of the only peace that would now be granted to him. The Governor-General had furnished General Harris with the drafts of two treaties, but left it to the General's discretion which set of propositions he should adopt. General Harris selected the most stringent propositions, and modified them in some particulars. He required Tippoo to cede half his territories in perpetuity to the allies, to pay two crore* of rupees to indemnify the British Government for the expenses of the war, to renounce the alliance of the French for ever, to dismiss every native of France from his service, to receive ambassadors from each of the allies, to give up the *four* sons of the Sultaun, and four of his generals to be named by the English commander as hostages: *the acceptance of these severe conditions to be transmitted under his hand and seal within twenty-four hours, and the hostages and one crore of rupees to be delivered in forty-eight.* General Harris and the military commission appointed by Lord Mornington to assist his political deliberations in imposing these terms on the Sultaun, were influenced by a consideration of the two battles in which Tippoo had been defeated, and the other reverses he had sustained before he condescended to propose a negotiation. The operations of the siege went forward till the 28th of April,—eighty days having elapsed without a favourable reply. On that day Tippoo made another and a last attempt to avert the stormi g of his citadel.

* Crore, one hundred *lacs*. A crore of pagodas is about 4,000,000*l.* sterling. A crore of rupees about 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

FROM TIPPOO SULTAUN TO GENERAL HARRIS.

"The points in question are weighty and cannot be brought to a conclusion without the intervention of ambassadors. I am therefore about to send two gentlemen, who will perfectly explain themselves."

On the 30th of April the breaching-battery opened against the walls of Seringapatam. On the first day part of the outward wall at the west angle of the fort was levelled, and one of the bastions within it was considerably shaken. On the morning of the 2nd of May a great magazine of rockets blew up in the town with a fearful explosion, spreading death and consternation among the inhabitants. On this day an additional battery was brought to bear against the walls; and at the conclusion of the 3rd the breach was deemed practicable for the advance of a storming party. Notwithstanding this tempest of shot and shell, Tippoo Sultaun conducted himself with unflinching resolution. It is reported that when he witnessed the advance of the British army across the Cavery, he addressed his officers with these words, "We have arrived at the last stage; what is your determination?" "To die along with you," it is said was the unanimous reply. Tippoo evidently relied upon the strength of his fortress, which had twice before defied the strength of the British armies, and was swayed by a superstitious feeling that he was under the protection of the Deity. He had accumulated a large store of provisions in Seringapatam, and the place was defended

by two and twenty thousand veteran troops who had been accustomed to victory, and the rainy season was fast approaching. On the night of the 3rd of May preparations were made for an assault on the following morning; this perilous service was entrusted to Major General Baird, who had for so long a time been a captive in the hands of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun, within those very walls. General Baird, with the fearless gallantry that characterised his whole military career, both in Asia, Africa, and Europe, determined to conquer or never return. "Either," said he, to Colonel Agnew, "we succeed to-morrow or you never see me more." Before daybreak on the morning of the 4th of May—a day memorable in the history of India—the storming party consisting of 2500 Europeans, and 1800 sepoys, were in the trenches. The General bade some of his old comrades of the 71st, who had on a former occasion been overwhelmed by Tippoo, remember that they had now an opportunity of "paying off old scores." At one o'clock the signal was given—Baird stepped out of the trenches, and drawing his sword, exclaimed, "Now, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves British soldiers!" It is scarcely possible adequately to conceive the anxious suspense with which the progress of the intrepid and devoted band as they dashed forward upon the "forlorn hope" was viewed from the lines.

> "The boldest held his breath
> For a time—"

Baird was rapidly followed by his men as he crossed the rocky bed of the river Cavery, which it was necessary to pass before the foot of the breach could be

gained The General is in the breach!—the assaulting column presses forward in close array—volumes of fire and smoke envelop the assailants—the hurras of the British are heard amid the thunder of the artillery—they rush forward undaunted by the deadly storm—a chosen body of Tippoo's guards make a sally on the flank of the assailants—the Mysoreans are repulsed with fearful slaughter, and the next moment the English colours wave from the walls! These were the events of less than ten minutes. General Baird, and Colonels Sherbrooke and Dunlop, swept the ramparts to the right and to the left; but encountered a desperate resistance from Tippoo's troops, who evinced great gallantry and devotion to the Sultaun.

The attack was made during the heat of the day, when Asiatics usually take their mid-day repast, and resign themselves to a season of repose. When the alarm of the assault reached Tippoo, he was sitting at dinner under a covered shed. He instantly washed his hands, seized his arms, and mounted his horse. On his way to the ramparts he was told that his general, Syed Goffar, was killed. "Syed Goffar," he said, "never feared death: let Mahommed Cassim take charge of his division." Tippoo opposed himself in person to the left column of the British; and for a time checked their advance; he continued on foot and animated his soldiers by firing with his own hands against his adversaries; he was the last man to quit the traverses, and did not leave his post till the impetuosity of the British soldiers drove everything before them. Two columns of the 12th regiment—one within, the other outside the gate—now poured in a destructive

cross fire. The Sultaun, who had before received a musket-ball in the right side, received another wound; his horse was shot under him, and his turban fell to the ground. His faithful servants placed him in his palanqueen, but being unable to proceed over the heaps of slain, he again sprang upon his feet and endeavoured to escape. Some British soldiers now entering the gate encountered Tippoo. One of them, ignorant of his person, but attracted by his jewels, attempted to pull off his sword belt; Tippoo disdaining to surrender himself a prisoner, or announce his rank, wounded the soldier in the knee with his sabre. The enraged Englishman pointed his musket at his assailant's head, and Tippoo fell a corpse. The moment that the British obtained possession of Seringapatam a search was instituted for the Sultaun: his body was found under a heap of slain; his eyes were open, and the body, which was stripped of every ornament but his cherished amulet, was still warm when Colonel Wellesley, who commanded the reserve, which was not employed in the assault, came up. Thus perished this formidable enemy of the British power in India; and thus perished likewise, the hopes of those who aimed at the re-establishment of French influence in Hindostan! We shall not dwell upon the military details of this memorable siege. It is enough to say that every member of the palace* was treated with the

* "We feel great satisfaction," say the Mysore Commissioners, in a letter to Lord Mornington, dated Seringapatam, June the 8th, 1799, "in being able to assure your Lordship that before the Zenana was searched for treasure, separate apartments were prepared for the ladies, and no precaution omitted to secure them from the possibility of being exposed to any inconvenience. No treasure was found in the Zenana, nor was any article whatever removed from thence."

utmost kindness and consideration by General Baird, although before he entered it, his soldiers were excited by the information that Tippoo had ordered twelve grenadiers of Colonel Wellesley's regiment who fell into his hands on the 5th of April, to be murdered in cold blood. The arsenal of Seringapatam contained four hundred and fifty-one brass guns, and four hundred and seventy-eight iron guns, exclusive of two hundred and eighty-seven mounted on the works. A vast quantity of stores, ammunition, and a large amount of treasure also fell into the hands of the captors. General Harris immediately dispatched the following communication in a sealed quill, by a secret messenger, to the Governor-General :—

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

"My Lord,

"I have the pleasure to inform you that this day, at one o'clock, a division of the army under my command assaulted Seringapatam ; and that at half-past two o'clock the place was completely in our possession. Tippoo Sultaun fell in the assault. Two of his sons, the Sultaun Padsha and Mayen-ud Deen are prisoners, with many of the principal Sirdars. Our success has been complete ; I will forward to your Lordship details hereafter. I have the honour to be,

"G. Harris."

This dispatch was not received by Lord Mornington till the 11th of May, in consequence of delays occasioned by the disturbed state of the country through

which the messenger had to pass. The intelligence was conveyed to his Lordship in the following private letter from Major Beatson :—

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

" Seringapatam, 6th May, 1799.

" My Lord,

" It is with the greatest pleasure I inform your Lordship that on Saturday the 4th instant, about half-past one in the afternoon, the breach was assaulted, and in less than an hour our troops were in possession of the whole of the rampart of Seringapatam. On this most happy event I beg leave sincerely to congratulate your Lordship particularly, as it has been attended with every circumstance that could have been desired to render it the most important event that perhaps ever happened.

" The death of the Sultaun, who was shot through the head and bayoneted in three parts of his body, as he attempted to make his escape ; the possession of the whole of his family, treasure, and jewels, which were secured from ravage and plunder by the accidental circumstance of the palace not having been taken possession of until the fury of the storm was over ; and the families of the principal chiefs of the Sultaun's army having been detained prisoners in the fort, and now fallen into our hands, are altogether a chain of such fortunate events, and so highly advantageous that nothing seems to be wanting to ensure an immediate peace throughout the peninsula.

" No account has yet been taken of the treasure, but from what has been seen it must be immense : and as many of the apartments of the palace which are sealed,

have not yet been opened, it is impossible to form any idea of the amount; nor in this instance can we be guided by information; for the Sultaun, it is said, was of late so suspicious that he trusted nobody, and locked up and sealed those apartments with his own hands."

"There is also an immense quantity of grain and military stores of every kind."

"I have said nothing of the operations of the siege of which your Lordship shall have a minute detail in my journal: I will only observe that it affords me the highest satisfaction to find that the forlorn hope was only six minutes crossing the rocky bed of the river, the ditch, and ascending to the top of the breach, which was to me a sufficient proof that I was not mistaken in the judgment I had formed of the river and the ditch after reconnoitering them, and which I had the honour of communicating to your Lordship in my letter of the 18 ultimo.

"As I have nothing now to detain me here, it is my intention with General Harris's permission, to proceed to the Carnatic as soon as the communication is open, in order to have the honour of attending your Lordship, and receiving your commands in whatever way you may be pleased to employ me.

(Signed) "A. BEATSON."

Thus in the short space of two months was this war brought to a close, and the power of this formidable enemy broken: a kingdom yielding an annual revenue of more than a million sterling was transferred in full sovereignty to the East India Company and their allies, without injury to the inhabitants or devastation to the country.

CHAPTER XV.

Anecdote of the Uma, or Bird of Prosperous Empire.—Builds its Nest in the Avenue of Banyan Trees in the Garden of Lord Mornington's Residence at Madras.—Superstitious Inference of the Natives.—Description of the Uma.—Figure of the Uma of Gold and Pearl, taken from Tippoo Sultaun's Throne, at Windsor Castle.—Other Trophies there.—General Baird superseded in Seringapatam by Colonel Wellesley.—Lord Wellesley accused of having, on this occasion, unfairly pushed forward his Brother.—Observations of Alison and Hook.—The Question examined.—Letters of General Harris, Lord Wellesley, General Baird, and Lord Clive.

While the Governor-General was at Madras, superintending the operations of the army of Mysore, a bird, called by the natives the Uma, and which bore the appearance of a small eagle or vulture, built its nest in an avenue of banyan or pipal trees, in the garden of Mr. Petrie, in whose house his Excellency resided. It was Lord Mornington's habit to dictate all his papers, either to the secretary of the department, or to some of the young writers. Under the shade of these trees he walked before the sun's power was intense, and generally at that hour discharged the business of the day. The natives, when the news of Tippoo Sultaun's downfall reached Madras, superstitiously ascribed much of the success of the war to the influence of the Uma, and universally believed that its presence was an augury of victory.*

* The following interesting note on the Uma, or Indian Eagle, was

The day after the storming of Seringapatam Colonel Wellesley was appointed to the command of the fortress, and subsequently was invested with the civil government of Mysore. General Baird conceived that he was slighted by Colonel Wellesley's appointment, and is said to have given expression to his feelings in these words—"Before the sweat was dry on my brow, I was superseded by an inferior officer!" The biographer of Sir David Baird has dwelt with much emphasis upon the circumstance, insisting that the Governor-General had unfairly pushed forward his brother to the disadvantage of the hero of Seringa-

written by the Marquess Wellesley in 1840: "The Bird of Prosperous Empire.—The ancient Persians, as well as the Romans, presaged by the flight of birds. Of these some were of good omen, while others foreboded evil. Amongst the former, the most auspicious was the Uma, which is believed to be a species of eagle. It belonged to kings; and its appearance and flights, under various circumstances, were the augury for the settlement of the crown, or the affairs of royalty. Some of the characteristics of this bird have given rise to many strange mixtures of fable and facts, in some of which the leading features of the latter may still be plainly traced. It is a carniverous bird; and its high soaring habit is the origin of the belief that it never rests upon the ground. The account of this bird in the standard Persian Lexicon (among other significations of the word under different accusations) gives the following: 'A standard, or flag, on the top of which the bird is placed; or on which the representation of it is depicted.' The throne of the Sultan of Mysore was of an octangular form, the canopy being in the form of an umbrella; it was surmounted by a representation of the Uma, which is now deposited in Windsor Castle; the figure of the bird is composed of pure plates of gold, closely inlaid with precious stones, with a collar of pearl and pearl at the eyes, and suspended from the beak, and the tail spread and ornamented with pearl and precious stones; the edges of the canopy were fringed with the richest pearl; it was supported by eight pillars, the capitals of which were in the form of the head of a royal tiger, enriched with precious stones; the whole was covered with plates of pure gold; the octangular pavilion rested on the back of a royal tiger couchant; this figure also was covered with plates of pure gold; and the eyes, tusks,

patam ; and Alison,* a writer of the highest authority, records it as "one of the few blots on Lord Wellesley's administration"—a "blot," it deserves to be noted, which escaped the microscopic criticism of Mill.

Justice to the living and the dead demands a fair inquiry into these important transactions, which have been somewhat misrepresented.

Upon the junction of the Nizam's contingent with the army of Madras at Carimungalum, on the 18th of February, 1799, the 33rd European regiment was added to the Nizam's force. The son of his Highness the Soubahdar, Meer Allum, was invested with the nominal command of this army, and Colonel the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, brother to the Governor-General, was appointed second in command. When the peculiar circumstances of this army are considered—the recent disbanding of the Nizam's French force, the wavering friendship of the sovereign of the Deccan,

and elaws were of rock crystal ; the head and paws of this figure are in Windsor Castle : the head is covered with inscriptions in the Persian character. These splendid trophies of Oriental royalty were sent, in 1799, by the Marquess Wellesley to the Court of Directors, to be presented to his Majesty George the Third ; the Uma was presented accordingly, but the tiger's head remained in the Museum at the India House, until, at the suggestion of Lord Wellesley (then Lord-Steward of his Majesty's Household), it was presented to his late Majesty William the Fourth ; on which occasion his Majesty was pleased to give, at St. James's, a great entertainment to the East India authorities, and the principal ministers of state, and others of the nobility, when these trophies were displayed. In the year 1840, after the fruits of the fall of Seringapatam had been enjoyed by Britain for forty years, his Grace the Earl Marshal granted the Uma as an additional crest to the arms granted to the Marquess Wellesley, in 1799, by George the Third, with this motto (taken from Virgil, Æneid vi. 794–5)—

'Super Indos protulit Imperium.'"

* *Vide* History of Europe, vol. vii. p. 132.

the fact that many of the men serving in the ranks of this army had served under M. Piron, who had been in confidential communication with the enemy against whom they were about to be marched—it is evident that it was of the highest importance to place next the king's son in command an officer of the soundest discretion, greatest caution, experience, and activity. Meer Allum applied to General Harris for the appointment of Colonel Wellesley as his colleague, —desirous, no doubt, of obtaining the friendship of one who so completely possessed the confidence of Lord Mornington. General Harris complied with the request, because he knew that Colonel Wellesley was preëminently fitted for the arduous duties of the post. From some of the observations which have been made on the alleged partiality of Lord Mornington towards his brother Arthur in this matter, it would almost seem as if the Colonel's talents were unknown before the battle of Mallavelly. But Colonel Wellesley's conduct in Flanders had not escaped notice: in consequence of the ability which he displayed in the hazardous retreat from Flanders, in 1794, he was promoted to the command of a brigade of three regiments in the movement from the Leck to the Issel. On going out to India in 1796, he carried with him a letter of introduction to Sir John Shore from the late Governor-General of India, Marquess Cornwallis.* His merits were soon appreciated, as the following anecdote, related in the Life of Lord Teignmouth, will show:—

"On his first interview with Colonel Wellesley at his levee, Sir John Shore evinced his characteristic

* *Vide* p. 15.

prompt discernment of character. Turning quickly round to his aides-de-camp, as the young soldier retired, he remarked with prophetic sagacity, 'If Colonel Wellesley should ever have the opportunity of distinguishing himself, he will do it, and greatly.' One of those to whom these expressions were addressed did not return to England till the Duke of Wellington had reached the zenith of his peninsular reputation, when he reminded Lord Teignmouth of the complete verification of his prediction. During the latter part of Sir John Shore's administration, Colonel Wellesley was a frequent guest at his table. The peculiar characteristic of his great mind, which the Goveror-General especially remarked, and often in after-life adverted to with admiration and astonishment, was a union of strong sense and boyish playfulness which he had never seen exemplified in any other individual."

An expedition was fitted out by Sir John Shore against the Spanish Islands, and the Honourable Colonel Wellesley was the officer selected for conducting the enterprise. But, in addition to all this, General Harris had witnessed Colonel Wellesley's zeal and untiring energy in urging forward the military preparations at Madras: no one laboured more diligently than he did to repair the shattered army of that presidency; and to Colonel Wellesley's personal exertions the fact is in a great measure owing, that, in the course of but a few months, in the presidency which Mr. Webbe had pronounced to be so utterly helpless as to be at the mercy of the Sultaun of Mysore, one of the most formidable armies ever collected in India was completely

organised. All these circumstances fully justified the appointment made by General Harris : the *result* proved the propriety of the selection.

But of what did General Baird complain ? "It must appear extraordinary," writes that officer, "that a Major-General sent out expressly by his Majesty to serve on the staff in India, should remain in command of three battalions, while a Lieutenant-Colonel serving in the same army, is placed at the head of seven, or rather thirteen, corps. Meer Allum's request to have the brother of the Governor-General in command of the troops under him, is certainly a reason ; but this is only known to *me* privately : while, as the order now stands, I am apparently degraded in the eyes of the army and of my friends at home." General Baird was a man of ardent temperament and high sensibility, and was easily wrought upon by others to take steps which his cooler judgment condemned. Mr. Hook remarks, "This appeal was most natural, but it produced no result." This, however, is not quite correct : General Harris acknowledged it in the following note, in which he enters into an explanation of his motives in appointing Colonel Wellesley :—

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD.

"I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and am sorry you should have thought it necessary to renew the subject of Colonel Wellesley's appointment. It appears to me, after what has passed between us, that you should have treated it, as it really is, as a political arrangement likely to be highly be-

neficial to the public service, and not as having any reference to command in the line, with which it has nothing to do. My personal regard for you induces me to give you this explanation, and makes me wish thus to relieve your mind from every idea that there could be any inattention to your situation, and which I trust will be clear when you are acquainted that the contingent of the Nizam can only be commanded by a colonel." *

But this was not General Baird's only grievance: in another expostulation to the Commander-in-Chief of the invading army, he complains "of Lieutenant-Colonel Browne commanding a separate army, with the prospect of having two of his Majesty's corps under him."—Well might the poet demand—

> "Whence does it spring, that none contented lives
> With the fair lot which prudent reason gives,
> Or chance presents; yet all with envy view
> The schemes that others variously pursue?"

Had General Harris acceded to General Baird's misdirected desires and appointed him under Meer Allum, Baird would have lost the honour of leading the assault,—an honour infinitely preferable to a brave soldier than the barren distinction of commanding a numerous yet inactive reserve. Had the Commander-in-Chief given to him the direction of the "separate army" in the south of Mysore instead of to Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, Baird would have shared in neither the honours nor the *prizes* of Seringapatam.

* "The agreement with the Nizam provided for the pay and allowances of all ranks, of which the highest was a Colonel commanding."—*Lushington.*

But Major-General Baird is described by the authorities quoted as unhandsomely treated in being, *so soon after the assault, superseded by Colonel Wellesley.* Now, what are the facts? 1st. Baird had applied, through Colonel Beatson and by letter to the Commander-in-Chief, to be temporarily relieved from duty in Seringapatam. 2nd. The selection of Colonel Wellesley to succeed him in that duty was quite casual; as the following anecdote, which we have both on the authority of General Harris and of Mr. Lushington, avouches.

Upon receiving General Baird's application to be relieved, General Harris communicated to Major Turing, and asked *who was the next officer for duty.* "Colonel Roberts," said Major Turing.—"Then put him in orders to go," replied the General. Presently afterwards, Major Turing looking over the order more attentively, said, "No, Sir, I have made a mistake; Colonel Wellesley is the next for duty, not Colonel Roberts." "Then let Colonel Wellesley be put in orders for relief," said General Harris.

Further, it has been hinted that the Governor-General, from some unworthy motive, failed to represent to the Home Government the conduct of General Baird in its proper light: "It so happens," remarks Mr. Hook, "that in all his Excellency's dispatches to England, after the capture of Seringapatam, *the name of General Baird does not once appear;* a fact rendered more striking, because General Harris has observed a similar silence in all dispatches which *he* addressed to the Governor-General:" and, again, in reference to an intimation made by Lord Wellesley

to General Baird of his intention to recommend him for the Order of the Bath, "nor even," we are told, "did he ever get so far into the history or mystery of the affair as to ascertain whether his Lordship actually *ever did* make the application in his favour to the British Government." Let the reader now turn to the 619th page of the published dispatches of Lord Wellesley. In a letter from the Governor-General to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, written in June, 1799, the followining passage occurs :—

"It is impossible to bestow too much commendation on the conduct of Major-General Baird in the assault of Seringapatam. A more judicious operation, conducted with more heroic gallantry and spirit, never was achieved ; and when you recollect the decisive consequences of the success of that day, effecting within the course of two hours the entire destruction of our most formidable enemy in India, I am persuaded that you will concur with me in an anxious solicitude to see the gallant leader of the assailants of Tippoo Sultaun's capital rewarded in a manner suitable to his exertions and their beneficial effect."

The Governor-General then mentions that he had ascertained that General Baird's circumstances were not affluent, recounts in touching language Baird's cruel imprisonment in the fortress he had stormed, and recommends him strongly to the liberality of the East India Company ! "I should *also*," adds his Lordship, "hope that his extraordinary merits on the 4th of May would induce his Majesty to consider him a proper object for the Order of the Bath !"

The following private letter, not hitherto published,

will show that the Governor-General entertained a most friendly feeling towards General Baird :

TO MAJOR GENERAL BAIRD.

(Private.)

" Fort William, August 5th, 1800.

" DEAR SIR,

" I have been prevented by illness from returning an earlier acknowledgment of your letter of the ——. You may be assured of my sincere and grateful good wishes, and of my inclination to avail myself, at all times, of your services in the manner the most advantageous to yourself and to the public. At present no opportunity offers of calling upon you with a view to either of these considerations. If any occasion should occur, you may rely on my attention to your wishes. I have received letters from England of the month of March, and I am in hourly expectation of a dispatch of a later date ; no prospect of peace, but all appearances are favourable at home. Believe me, dear Sir, with real respect and esteem, your faithful servant,

(Signed) " WELLESLEY."

Under the influence, however, of excited feelings and evident misapprehension, General Baird addressed two intemperate letters to the Commander-in-Chief in Mysore, protesting against the appointment of Colonel Arthur Wellesley as Governor of Seringapatam. It is much to be regretted that these have been published ;* having been judiciously withdrawn at the time by General Baird, and *never having been reported* either

* *Vide* Appendix.

to the Governor-General, or the Duke of York, then at the head of the army. Since this discussion has been opened, it is necessary to say that General Baird was a better soldier than a diplomatist. He was employed in exactly the service that suited his abilities. His interference in the politics of Tanjore had not been fortunate; as we have seen, it had called forth the censure of the Governor in council of Madras. On the other hand, the cool sagacity and diplomatic talents of "Wellington" (that was to be) were exactly calculated to tranquillize a country shaken by so great a revolution. "He (Colonel Wellesley), was permanently appointed by me," says General Harris, "*from my thinking him more equal to the particular kind of duty than any other officer in the army.*"

Lord Mornington, in a letter dated July 7th, commenting upon this communication remarks: "With respect to the language which you say people have held of my brother's appointment to Seringapatam, you know that I never recommended my brother to you, and of course never suggested how or where he should be employed; and, I believe, you know also that you would not have pleased me by placing him in any situation in which his appointment could be injurious to the public service. My opinion, or rather knowledge and experience, of his discretion, judgment, temper and integrity are such, that if you had not placed him in Seringapatam, I *would* have done so of my own authority, *because I think him, in every respect, the most proper for the service.*" The principle on which Lord Wellesley acted all through his administration towards his illustrious brother is expressed in the following paragraph:—

"Great jealousy will arise among the officers in consequence of my employing you; but I employ you because I rely on your good sense, discretion, activity, and spirit; and I cannot find all those qualities united in any other officer in India who could take such a command."—*Lord Wellesley to Colonel A. Wellesley, 1st of December*, 1800, *respecting the Isle of France Expedition.**

The following note† bears testimony to the success which attended Colonel Wellesley's administration of affairs in Mysore:—

MARQUESS WELLESLEY TO COL. THE HON. A. WELLESLEY.

"Fort William, 6th June, 1800.

"My dear Arthur,

"Lord Clive has pressed for your continuance in Mysore with an earnestness so honourable to you, that I think you cannot accept the command of the forces destined for Batavia; indeed, I suspect that you could not quit Mysore at present. Your conduct there has secured your character and advancement for the remainder of your life, and you may trust me for making the best use of your merits in your future promotion.

"Ever, my dear Arthur, yours most affectionately,

"Wellesley."

The annexed letter to which allusion is made in the foregoing note, has not hitherto been printed: it affords additional proof (if proof were needed) of the

* *Vide* vol. II. chap. iii. p. 20, &c.

† *Vide* Wellington Dispatches.

high character which the great Duke had achieved at that early period in India :—

LORD CLIVE TO MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

(Private.)

"Fort St. George, 29th May, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"I have been honoured with your letter of the 13th instant, and am truly concerned to learn you have been so seriously indisposed with boils; for although they are deemed to be the prognostics of future health, I know them to be a most painful means of acquiring that advantage.

"Immediately upon receiving your commands, and after communicating with Vice-Admiral Rainier, who has informed me that the detachment of his Majesty's ships destined by him for the Eastern expedition, will be in readiness to put to sea in three weeks at the furthest from Tuesday next, the 27th instant, I wrote to Colonel Wellesley, apprising him of this circumstance, and tendering to him, according to your Lordship's wish, the option of the command of the military force preparing to embark with the Vice-Admiral.

"Having in my official dispatch of the 24th instant, so strongly expressed my opinion of the absolute detriment which must result to the affairs of Mysore from even the temporary absence of Colonel Wellesley, your Lordship will not be surprised that in my communication with him I have not only recommended, but requested in the strongest terms, that he will continue in his present situation, in which it would be

not only difficult but impossible to replace him to my satisfaction.

"Although I entirely agree with your Lordship that Colonel Wellesley is the fittest person to command the land forces on the proposed expedition, and though your Lordship's zeal induces you to suggest his being employed wherever his talents may be useful to the public, yet as I am decidedly of opinion, upon public grounds, that Colonel Wellesley's services are beyond all comparison of greater importance in Mysore than they can be to the eastward; and as from his honourable and judicious conduct, as well as from that of Colonel Close in their respective spheres, we are now deriving more advantages beyond the calculation of all those who did not intimately know the two characters, —I cannot help mingling a sentiment of private feeling with public views, and deprecating the exposure, without absolute necessity, of a life so valuable to us all, and so justly dear to your Lordship, to the baneful climate of Batavia. I am always, my dear Lord, most faithfully yours, "CLIVE."

"The Earl of Mornington."

This digression has caused us to lose sight of the events which followed the fall of Seringapatam. The consideration of these circumstances must, therefore, be deferred to the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.

Division of Mysore.—Political Arrangements.—Importance of the Conquered Territory to Great Britain.—The News received in England with universal Satisfaction and Delight.—The Thanks of both Houses of Parliament and of the East India Company voted to Lord Mornington, Lord Clive, and Mr. Duncan, and to General Harris, &c., and the Army.—Buonaparte quits Egypt.—Series of Private Letters, written from Fort William by Sir Alured Clarke to Lord Mornington at Madras.—Letters of Lord Mornington to Sir Alured Clarke and Hon. F. North (afterwards Earl Guilford).—Note respecting Mr. North.

Lord Mornington's arrangements in reconstructing the kingdom of Mysore, and partitioning the conquered provinces, it is universally admitted, exhibited the utmost address and the soundest judgment. The wife of the Hindoo sovereign of Mysore, who had been thrust from his throne by Hyder Ally's usurpation, was alive; for it had been Hyder's policy not to assume the style of a monarch, though he exercised with undisputed authority the sovereign power; and it was his custom annually to exhibit to the people some member of the ancient royal family. The surviving representative of the royal line of Mysore was found to be a boy five years old; and Lord Mornington resolved to invest him, under certain limitations, with the Rajahship, or kingly authority. By the partition treaty, the kingdom of Mysore was reduced to the extent, and nearly to the exact condition, in which it was before Hyder

Ali commenced his career of aggression on surrounding states. On the principle of indemnification for the expense of past operations, and as a security against aggression from the sea, it was determined that the English should assume the sovereignty of, and permanently occupy, the territory possessed by the Sultaun on the coast of Malabar; together with the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam and other valuable and important districts. An equal portion of territory was assigned to the Nizam, as a reward for his fidelity. A portion of the territory was also allotted to the Mahrattas. According to the partition treaty, the new Rajah of Mysore was to maintain a British force, and annually pay for its support seven lacs of pagodas, and to place himself, in political affairs, under the direction of the English Government. Lord Mornington by these measures added to the annual revenues of the Company in the peninsula of India a sum of not less than twelve lacs of pagodas, and secured the advantage of strengthening the British frontier, by establishing a continuity of territory from sea to sea—from the coast of Coromandel to that of Malabar.

The news of the fall of Seringapatam and its Sultaun was received in every part of the British empire with unbounded delight and exultation. Addresses from the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras were presented to the Governor-General. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were unanimously voted to Lord Mornington, Lord Clive, Mr. Duncan, and the army engaged in the war; and the East India Company passed resolutions expressive of their admiration of the important services rendered to them by their

servants in the East; while his Majesty testified his approbation of the Earl of Mornington's conduct by raising him to the dignity of Marquess in the peerage of Ireland, and granting him an honourable augmentation to his family arms. The effect of the intelligence upon Buonaparte in Egypt, can easily be imagined. Seringapatam was stormed on the 4th of May; Napoleon quitted Egypt on the 23rd of August.

The following private letters were written after the intelligence reached Calcutta: they will contribute to throw a light upon the posture of affairs in India at that crisis, and convey an idea of the innumerable subjects which pressed upon the attention of the Governor-General at this period.

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

"Fort William, May 26th, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"On the 17th I, with heart-felt satisfaction, wrote you a congratulatory letter on the glorious and most important news from Seringapatam :* and on the 23rd, I, with equal concern, acquainted your Lordship of the death of our valuable and ever-to-be-lamented friend Cooke, whose remains were attended to the grave by a very numerous and respectable part of this community on the evening of that day. The

* The Commander-in-Chief, writing to Lord Mornington, May 17th, 1799, remarks, "I remember your observation of humbling Tippoo before the anniversary of your entering upon the duties of this government, which took place *precisely this day twelve months*."

vessel you dispatched *express* with the happy tidings from Harris got on shore in some place in the northern Circars, and is not yet arrived ; and the land express reached us only yesterday : so that we should have been deprived of some days' happiness had not Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkpatrick's letter to Scott, and the gazette extraordinary that you published on the 11th, come in another vessel that fortunately had a quick passage, and enabled us to publish our signal success to the world immediately, which was done, and expresses sent to every part of the country. Mr. Barlow has this day received a letter from Mr. Lumsden, signifying his readiness to comply with your wishes, and enclosing a formal resignation of his office, which he says he shall be prepared to deliver over to his successor on his arrival at Lucknow, whither Colonel Scott will proceed as soon as possible. The inconvenience and difficulties, both public and personal, that I shall be subjected to from this arrangement, your Lordship has foreseen, and I have mentioned in a former letter : it therefore only remains for me to get over them as well as I can ; and with this view, after considering the matter in every possible shape, I have directed a letter to be written to Lieutenant-Colonel Black of the cavalry, intimating my intention to recommend him to be Adjutant-General of the army, if he is disposed to undertake the duties of that office. My earnest wish is, to have a post of so much importance to the military establishment of this presidency at large filled by the fittest man that can be found, and no other consideration has operated in my intended nomination of Colonel Black, with whom I

have very little personal acquaintance; but as he is a man of respectable character, who stands high in rank, and has established the reputation of possessing much zeal and professional ability, and has, in addition, the general good opinion of the army, I trust he may fulfil the expectation I have formed from the combination of those favourable qualities, and prove a useful public officer to the Company. My recommendation of him in preference to the present Deputy Adjutant-General, Major Darby, does not proceed from any want of good opinion of this officer, who I also named to the office he holds, and I have had much reason to be satisfied with his conduct in it; but as the period since his appointment has been too short to admit of his having procured much more knowledge of the detail of the department than Colonel Black * may immediately possess, and other circumstances were favourable to the latter, I have thought it incumbent on me to select him, and if he should undertake the charge, and transact the business of the department, which is heavy and important, in nearly as satisfactory a manner to Government and myself as his predecessor has done, I shall be quite happy in the choice I have made, which, I must repeat to your Lordship, has been solely influenced by a sense of public duty. I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem, your Lordship's most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

"ALURED CLARKE."

* This meritorious officer did not long live to enjoy the honours conferred on him. His premature death is alluded to in a letter from the Governor-General to Sir Alured Clarke, in the August following.—*Vide* page 329.

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

"Fort William, June 6th, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"I did myself the honour of writing to you on the 28th ult., since which I have been in anxious expectation of receiving further accounts of the army and our affairs in general at Seringapatam; for it is impossible not to take a deep interest in the prosperity of the latter: and the various rumours of losses sustained by the former in the course of the siege has caused so much individual uneasiness here as makes an authenticated detail particularly desirable, and I hope it will soon arrive. In the pleasing expectation that your return to Calcutta would long ere now have afforded the opportunity of a personal communication, I deferred troubling you with a public letter respecting the alteration in the establishments in the King's regiments till the last moment; but, as it is now quite necessary that the army should be apprised of it, and I fear the period of your coming is more distant than I wish, I have thought it my duty to announce the alteration in the usual manner, in the general order to the King's troops, and to address your Lordship in council upon the subject by this opportunity. I have received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Black, who, with much gratitude and becoming diffidence, is disposed to undertake the duties of Adjutant-General. He is now on his way from Cawnpore, and Colonel Scott will leave this for Lucknow, as soon after his arrival as possible. Barlow will have informed you that

his appointment to succeed Mr. Lumsden, and Mr. Harrington's to the Revenue-Board, have been published; but they both act in their former offices till their successors shall arrive. The heat of the weather has been insupportable with us, and I understand still more so with you; I am therefore not surprised that you should complain, and reflect with much pleasure on your prudent determination to give up the idea of going to Seringapatam at present, as I am persuaded the intense heat and manner of travellling would not only have deprived you of every exertion at the end of your journey, but probably have given your constitution such a severe shock, also, as you might not have recovered the effects of whilst in India. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, and most faithful, humble servant,

"ALURED CLARKE."

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

"Fort William, 20th June, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Major-General Floyd, after the most close attendance on, and faithful discharge of, his military duties in India, for more than seventeen years, has solicited my permission to return to England by one of the earliest conveyances he can procure, on account of his private affairs, which, he says, require his immediate presence there; and, much as I regret the loss of so valuable an officer, his request, under existing circumstances, appears too reasonable to admit of my with-

holding my consent: I shall therefore give it, satisfied from my knowledge of General Floyd's disposition, that if any particular service occurs, with which I am at present unacquainted, to make his remaining a little longer necessary, he will do so with pleasure, on your Lordship's mentioning it to him. I have the honour to be, with true respect and esteem, my dear Lord, your most obedient and most faithful, humble servant.

"ALURED CLARKE."

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

"Fort William, July 19th, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The only part of the communication you honoured me with on the 4th inst. that reached me yesterday, which did not quite accord with my wishes, was the little hope it gave of our seeing you here before the end of the month; whereas, I had flattered myself that your business in the Carnatic, after placing the young Rajah of Mysore on the musnud of his ancestors, would have been brought to such maturity as might admit of your returning to Bengal while the season is so favourable for the voyage, and carrying on the rest of your negotiation from hence.

"Several letters and papers which Captain Kirkpatrick had forwarded from Hyderabad gave us sufficient intimation of the discontent of that Durbar, which I was very sorry for, as I thought it would give you uneasiness, and saw it was an evil that could only be remedied by making a sacrifice of gold and jewels at

the shrine of Mammon, which must be attended with some inconvenience and considerable expense: I am, however, glad to find you have determined on that, as ill-temper always generates mischief, and should be deprecated by all proper means under present circumstances with the parties in question. They—I mean prince, ministers, and all—are the most *puerile* beings on earth, and nothing short of the two articles you so justly style 'the food of native statesmen,' could be effectual to allay their childish propensities, and gratify their inordinate avarice.

"By this conveyance your Lordship will receive a public letter, with enclosures from me respecting the Swiss regiment of Meuron: the liberality of our country, doubtless much aided by the peculiar situation of the courts, has granted very favourable terms indeed to the proprietary Colonel and his corps.

"From what I have heard of Seringapatam,* it does not seem probable that your brother and Colonel Kirkpatrick will have much reluctance in quitting it. I shall therefore expect to hear of their having rejoined you at Madras very soon, and I hope in perfect health. I am, dear Lord, &c., "ALURED CLARKE."

* "It is also said that Seringapatam is unwholesome, and that art cannot remedy the defect. I apprehend, however, that Seringapatam is not more unwholesome than Bangalore. Since the buildings have been improved, the health of the troops has improved."—*Mem. by General Wellesley.*

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OE MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

" Fort William, July 10th, 1799.

" My dear Lord,

" Since I had the honour of writing to you on the 3rd instant, we have been much alarmed for the safety of poor Sir John Anstruther,* who Messrs. Laird and Hare thought at death's door for some time ; but they both pronounced him out of danger two days ago, and I am now happy to tell you he is in the fairest way of recovery.

" Mr. Miller, the mint-master, died suddenly on Sunday, which made it necessary to place another person directly in the office ; and I have given the temporary appointment to Mr. Muir as the fittest person we could immediately employ in that trust, which he undertook with cheerfulness as a public duty, but not without privately expressing his hope that this circumstance might not operate disadvantageously to his interest by excluding him from the benefit of any permanent arrangement which your kind disposition might have induced you to make more favourable to him.

" It seems quite certain that the Vizier was at Jeyneghur, but I am much in doubt whether that Rajah or Ambagee will take the necessary steps for placing him in our hands.

" I am anxious to hear that all is settled to your Lordship's satisfaction in Mysore, and with our allies.

" And I remain, my dear Lord, &c.

" Alured Clarke."

* The Chief Justice of Bengal, a sound lawyer, and a learned and upright judge.

SIR ALURED CLARKE TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON.

(Private.)

"Fort William, August 7th, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"It is with sincere concern that I inform you of the death of Major-General St. Leger. All the circumstances attending this melancholy event that have yet come to my knowledge, are related in a letter from Major of Brigade Bradshaw, and of which I send you a copy.* I do not know if you were much acquainted with him; but I am sure you will agree with me in lamenting the untimely fate of an officer who seemed to be equally able and well disposed to be useful to his country.

"I shall hope to see you here soon and in good health, being with true respect and esteem,

"My dear Lord, &c.

"ALURED CLARKE."

EARL OF MORNINGTON TO SIR ALURED CLARKE, &c.

(Private.)

(Original by Express. Duplicate by the *William Pitt*.)

"Fort George, 16th August, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am indebted to you for several very kind private letters, and I must trust to the same kindness which dictated them to excuse me for the long delay of my answer. You will not be surprised at my silence

* General St. Leger died at Dinapoor, after one day's illness: he was well and on horseback the day previously to his death.

when I inform you that I have been employed in dispatching to Europe a detailed review of the late settlement of Mysore, together with the two treaties and all the important subjects connected with the war and the pacification; and so intricate and various are the considerations involved in these questions, that I have found myself compelled to make the painful sacrifice of separating my brother* from me, and of sending him to Europe as the person next to myself most completely informed upon all the topics which relate to the late events. He embarked on board the ship *Cornwallis* yesterday evening, and sailed in company with the *Thetis*, *Worcester*, and *Walpole*, under convoy of the *Sceptre* this morning. He will return from Europe as speedily as possible, but I cannot hope to have the happiness of seeing him again (even under the most favourable circumstances) in less than ten months.

"I was extremely sorry to hear of the unfortunate death of Lieutenant-Colonel Black, whose appointment reflected so much honour on your judgment.

"It was a great satisfaction to me to learn that Shums-oo-Doulah's machinations had produced so little mischief. On my return to Bengal I shall hope to be able to enter into a full investigation of this matter. I trust that the 10th regiment will have arrived at Calcutta before this letter can reach you.

"With regard to the marine battalion and the volunteers, it is not yet possible for me to fix the period for their return to Bengal. Although Mysore in general is in a state of perfect tranquillity, some

* Hon. H. Wellesley.

disturbances broke out in Bednore, which required the presence of the army ; they are now, I trust, effectually quelled, and I expect General Harris at the presidency in a few days, when I hope I shall be enabled to form some idea of the future distribution of our force. If the negotiation depending at Poonah should terminate favourably, we shall immediately require troops to compose this new subsidiary force. This circumstance again may delay the return of the volunteers.

" With regard to Ceylon, the departure of the 10th for Bengal will, I fear, render it impracticable to part with the 51st until some part of the European troops shall return into the Carnatic from Mysore.

" I am concerned to inform you that very few of Tippoo's horses have proved serviceable, not more than are absolutely requisite for the remount of the cavalry here.

" I return you many thanks for your letter respecting the alteration in the establishments of the King's regiments.

" I entirely concur in the motives which induced you to accede to General Floyd's application for leave to return to Europe.

" Your letter of the 3rd of July, enclosing the address* from Major-General Stuart and the officers

* TO THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD EARL OF MORNINGTON, K. P., ETC.

" My Lord,

" We, the officers of the Futty Ghur station, beg leave to approach your Lordship with our sincere congratulations on the brilliant success achieved by our brother officers and soldiers in Mysore, acting under the singular good fortune of your Lordship's wisdom and decisive energy.

" While thus publicly testifying our gratitude and respect to your

at Futty-Ghur, affords me great pleasure. I should have been extremely sorry if you had permitted any feeling of delicacy towards me to interfere with an important point of military discipline. I should look even upon the conquest of Mysore as a calamity if it were made the instrument of sanctioning any irregularity in the army; and I think a better occasion could not have been selected than that which you have so judiciously chosen, for discountenancing the practice of military addresses. With these sentiments, I wish it to be understood that I highly applaud the motives which dictated the address in question, and

Lordship, and our admiration of the conduct and gallantry which so ably followed up and ultimately crowned your Lordship's plans with success unparallcledly splendid; though unenvious of the lustre of others' merits so nobly displayed, we cannot help regretting that fortune has not placed us in a situation to pay our tribute of filial gratitude to our country by a willing and faithful exertion of our endeavours to contribute to her matchless glory, under the auspices of the same distinguished protection.

"We have the honour to remain, with most perfect respect and attachment, your Lordship's most faithfully devoted humble servants,

"James Dickson, Lieut.-Col.	Geo. Russell, Lieut.-Col.
"Robert Frith, Lieut-Col.	J. Collins, Lieut.-Col.
"R. Stuart, Major-Gen.	R. Cotts, Deputy-Commanding,
"C. Ware, Major-Gen.	&c. &c. &c."

FROM THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO MAJOR-GENERAL R. STUART.

"Calcutta, 25th June, 1799.

"Sir,

"I have been honoured with your letter of the 12th inst., covering a congratulatory address from near eighty officers of the Futty Ghur station, under your immediate command, to the Governor-General, on the late glorious success of the British arms at Seringapatam, which you request may be forwarded to him, and it is not without great regret that I find myself restrained from complying with your wish. But much as I must, in common with yourselves and every other well-wisher of our country, feel and approve the sentiments it contains, I see so much objection, in a military point of view, to associating large numbers of officers

that I was particularly gratified by the expressions which it contains of personal esteem for me.

"I cannot express to you the anxiety and alarm which I felt for Sir John Anstruther during his illness. He would have been a great public loss, and I should have lamented in him a very valuable and affectionate friend.

"I entirely approve your appointment of Mr. Muir, and I shall not fail to attend to the considerations by which it was accompanied.

"Mr. Edminstone's letters to Mr. Barlow will have communicated to you my ideas respecting the Rajah Teynagur.

"You will observe from the late letters of the Resident that the temper of the Court of Hyderabad is much improved, even without the application of the remedy which occurred to me.

"I have desired General Harris to carry into exe-

together for the purpose of drawing up and signing papers on almost any subject, that I cannot help thinking it my duty, as Commander-in-Chief, instead of becoming the channel for conveyance of such, where no previous consent has been asked or obtained, to discountenance it; and in the present instance, under the existing arrangement of the army in the field, there is a material additional obstacle to my interference, from the want of the usual form of its passing to me through the hands of Major-General Sir James Craig, who commands all the troops in Oude. I therefore return the letter as you sent it, and in doing so I must beg leave to add, that the public reasons assigned are those alone which have actuated my conduct upon this occasion, as I have every reason to believe that nothing was intended but what was thought perfectly right and proper on your parts; and I feel a degree of repugnance at being compelled, by considerations of duty, to obstruct that in its passage to Lord Mornington which could not, abstractedly considered, but have been gratifying to him. I have the honour to be, with great regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "Alured Clarke."

cution, as speedily as possible, the capitulation for De Meuron's regiment. Believe me, my dear Sir, &c.

"MORNINGTON."

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO THE HON. T. NORTH, &c.

(Private.)

"Fort William, January 20th, 1800.

"MY DEAR NORTH,

"When you are apprised that since my arrival here I have framed the entire foundation of a code of Lord Clive's subjects and, indeed, of an entirely new constitution for his government, and that I have also immersed myself up to the neck in a question of radical reform for Oude, you will excuse my long silence; and you will further pardon me if I now merely assure you that I most cordially approve all your proceedings, and will strenuously support you and them, though I expect no opposition, particularly from Fort St. George, where I really believe Lord Clive's administration to be most able and honest. I must reserve the question of General M'Dowall's allowance, with all others, for a few days; only premising that I have the highest opinion of General M'Dowall, and that I entertain the most just sense of his late conduct in Ceylon. Your engineer and artillerymen shall be sent to you soon, but I do not know whether we can give you him whom you name. The alarm* of the

* The following letter explains the rumour here referred to:—

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. FREDERICK NORTH.

"Fort William, Oct. 26, 1799.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to enclose, for your Excellency's information, the copy of the report made by the commander of an American ship just

French fleet was false, but it has served to manifest your activity as well as the security of the island, and you may rely on receiving a public testimony of my applause on that subject.

"The news of our Easter triumphs reached England on the 13th of September. The sensation far exceeded my expectation; it was universal and high to a degree of exultation: all is glorious in Europe; and if we live two or three years, we shall see Great Britain arbitress of the world. Ever yours most affectionately,

(Signed) "MORNINGTON."

"To the Hon. Frederick North,*
"Governor of Ceylon."

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arrived at this port, relative to a large fleet which he fell in with on the 7th of July last, in latitude 5° 28′ north, and 16° west of London.

"I judge it proper to annex to this report the copy of an article of news which appears in the *Frankfort Journal* of the 22nd June last.

"Having personally examined the American commander, I have every reason to rely on the fidelity of his communication. I have the honour to be, &c. "MORNINGTON."

The above letter was forwarded, on the 27th of October, to Mr. Uhthoff, to the Commissioners in Malabar, to the Commanding Officer in Mysore, and to the Commanding Officer in Malabar."

* Mr. North, afterwards Earl of Guilford, was the third son of the celebrated Lord North, the minister so familiar to the readers of *Junius*. He was born in 1764, and was, at an early age, one of the chamberlains in the Tally Court of the Exchequer. After the capture of Ceylon from the Dutch, Mr. North was appointed Governor, greatly to the satisfaction of Lord Mornington, by whom he was highly esteemed. In 1829, Mr. North, then Earl Guilford, died without leaving issue, and was succeeded by the Rev. Francis North, whose father had been Bishop of Winchester. The Hon. Frederick North is frequently referred to in the course of Lord Wellesley's private letters and official communications.

CHAPTER XVII.

The State Sword of Tippoo Sultaun presented to General Baird.—The Army forward for Presentation to Lord Mornington a Star and Badge of the Order of St. Patrick, composed of Tippoo's Jewels. — Lord Mornington declines to accept them.—Private Letter of Hon. Henry Wellesley (Lord Cowley) to Mr. Canning, respecting these Jewels.—They are presented to Lord Wellesley by the East India Company.—Lord Wellesley declines to accept One Hundred Thousand Pounds from the Booty offered to him by his Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors.—Division of the Spoil of Seringapatam.—Unfair Distribution.—Conduct of General, afterwards Lord Harris, open to Censure.—Letter of Lord Castlereagh to Lord Wellesley.—Statement of the East India Company as to the Over-Payment.—Written Opinion of the Attorney-General (Mr. Spencer Perceval), the Solicitor-General (Sir T. Manners Sutton), and Mr. Wm. Adam, on this Question.—Opinion of the King's Advocate (J. Nicholl).—Memorandum on the Amount of Booty in Seringapatam.—Memorandum on the French Corps in the Deccan.

At the suggestion of Colonel Wellesley, and by the directions of the Prize Committee, the state sword of Tippoo Sultaun, which had been found in his bed-chamber, was presented to General Baird in the name of the army, as a testimonial of their high admiration of his courage and conduct in the assault.

The army also expressed their desire to present to the Governor-General a star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, composed of Tippoo's jewels:* but Lord Wellesley, from motives of delicacy, declined to accept

* The star and badge had been prepared, and was forwarded by the Prize Committee to the Commander-in-chief in a gold box.

them. The annexed private note from Mr. Henry Wellesley (the present Lord Cowley) to Mr. Canning on this subject, will be read with interest :—

TO GEORGE CANNING, ESQ., SPRING GARDENS, LONDON.

(Original and Duplicate. Overland *viâ* Aleppo and Bagdad.)

"Fort George, 6th August, 1799.

"My dear Canning,

"From a general opinion entertained in the army that the successful termination of the war in Mysore is principally to be attributed to my brother's measures, they have come to a resolution to present him with a diamond star in testimony of their esteem and gratitude.

"Although he cannot but feel gratified at the favourable opinion which the army entertains of his conduct, he has, upon full consideration, determined to decline accepting this mark of their approbation ; and it is his intention to signify to the army the grounds on which he declines accepting this distinction whenever it shall be publicly offered to him. At present, the intention has appeared in the resolutions of the Prize Committee, but the star has not yet been offered to my brother in the name of the army. Believe me, &c., "H. Wellesley."

The Court of Directors duly appreciating the Governor-General's sense of propriety and delicacy, themselves requested his Excellency to accept the star and badge "as a testimony of the very high sense which they entertained of the distinguished services to the Company of

the most noble the Marquess Wellesley, by the superior wisdom and energy of whose counsels the late war in Mysore was brought to so speedy and glorious a termination." Thus enhanced by the approbation of the East India Company, Lord Wellesley gratefully accepted the splendid trophy. It was proposed by the president of the Board of Control, and the chairman and deputy chairman of the East India Company, to grant 100,000*l.* out of the spoils taken at Seringapatam to the Marquess Wellesley; but the noble Lord, with his characteristic high-mindedness and generosity, at once refused to accept it. In a letter to Mr. Dundas his Lordship remarks on this subject:—"I understand that if the reserved part of the prize taken at Seringapatam, consisting of prize-money and ordnance, should come into the possession of the Company, it is their intention to grant the whole to the army, reserving 100,000*l.*, to be afterwards granted to me. I am satisfied upon reflection you will perceive that the accepting such a grant would place me in a very humiliating situation with respect to the army: and, independent of any question of character, or of the dignity and vigour of government, I should be miserable if I could ever feel that I had been enriched at the expense of those who must ever be the objects of my affection, admiration, and gratitude, and who are justly entitled to the exclusive possession of all that a munificent King and an admiring country can bestow. Even if the independence of my family were at stake, which I thank God it is not, I never could consent to establish it on an arrangement injurious to the conquerors of Mysore."

The Court of Directors, in the handsomest manner, voted an annuity of 5000*l.* to the Marquess Wellesley for a period of twenty years, at a Court held in January, 1801 ; but this pension is not to be considered an equivalent for the share of the booty which he had so generously and disinterestedly refused to accept. In 1801, when the pension was granted, the Marquess was forty-one years old, and for half the sum of 100,000*l.* might then have purchased an annuity of 5000*l.* Besides, money was at that period greatly enhanced in value, and bore an enormous rate of interest at Calcutta. He would have been at least 50,000*l.* richer had he accepted the gift tendered to him ; but love of money was not one of Lord Wellesley's passions.

For the sake of the fame of General Harris, and others concerned, it is to be regretted that Lord Wellesley's generosity was not imitated in the distribution of the prize money. That an improper share of the booty was appropriated to his own use by General Harris, and to the use of the other generals, to the disadvantage of the army, must be evident on an examination of the circumstances of the case, although it is probable that they believed they were entitled to the share which they took to themselves. The biographer of Lord Harris, influenced by feelings of private friendship towards that noble Lord, dismisses this subject in a few cursory remarks, describing the proceedings which were commenced against that officer in the Court of Chancery as a species of "persecution," instituted by the "Indian authorities." The subjoined documents, however, will set this transaction in its true light ;

they reveal the concurrent opinions of his Majesty's Government, the law officers of the Crown, and the East India Company, and set forth the reasons which compelled them to arrive at the decision that the distribution of the booty was not an equitable distribution.

TO THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, &c.

(Private.)

" London, 22nd May, 1804.

"My dear Lord,

" There is now a dispatch under the consideration of our Board from the Court of Directors, relative to the distribution of the booty taken in the year 1799 at Seringapatam. Owing to some delay in the production of certain documents which the Board have called for, no final decision has yet been taken upon it; but the merits of the question are sufficiently before us to enable me to express in confidence to your Lordship my dissatisfaction, not only with the principle of the distribution itself, but with the whole course of General Harris's conduct throughout the transaction.

" The interest we both feel in upholding the character of an officer of great personal merit and private respectability, whose name must remain recorded with one of the brightest events in the military annals of the country, makes it extremely painful to revise a transaction which passed under his superintendance, and the principal objection to which is the undue share of advantage which the General personally derived from it. *But the injustice of that distribution was so clearly established at the time to your Lordship's conviction, and, indeed, to every person who has since examined the question, as to make it impossible to do otherwise*

than let the proceeding, as advised by the law officers of the Crown and the Company, take its course.

"As the plan of distribution then acted upon, and now to be disapproved, may have had some influence as a precedent, I think it material that no time should, be lost in conveying to your Lordship, even before the dispatch is officially transmitted, copies of the law-opinions which have been given on this subject for your private information, as it may enable your Lordship to present the distinguished officers, to whom ultimately his Majesty may be disposed to grant the booty captured in the late campaign from involving themselves, by any premature or irregular proceedings in difficulties which a previous, or even an early knowledge of what is held to be the usage proper to be observed in such cases would enable them under your Lordship's direction to avoid. Indeed, the whole mischief in the former case appears to have grown, if not out of a want of due subordination to the authority of the Governor-General in council, at least, out of a very improper inattention to his understood and declared judgment upon the subject. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, with great regard, yours most faithfully, "CASTLEREAGH."

"A little more eagerness than I could have wished," writes Lord Wellesley in a letter to Mr. Dundas, June, 1799, "has appeared in the army on the subject of the property captured in Seringapatam; the question would have been very awkward, if the amount of the property had approached the first statements which had been made by common rumour, and which

extended to the enormous amount of eight or ten crores of rupees. The army conceive that, as the place was taken by storm, they are of right entitled to what was found in it; this is certainly an erroneous opinion, and if the principle had been established, and so large a sum as that which I have stated had been seized by the army and distributed, it is impossible to calculate the mischievous effects which would have resulted to our military power in India. The official return has been withholden, from an idea that the right is absolute in the captors, and that they are not bound to render any account under the peculiar circumstances of the assault."

According to the calculations of the East India Company, General Harris and the general officers were overpaid in the following proportion :—

" General Harris, as Commander-in-Chief, received *one eighth* part of the whole, amounting, according to the account furnished by the Prize Committee to . .	*Pagodas.** 324,907
" As there were six general officers in the army, exclusive of the Commander-in-Chief, viz.— General Floyd, General Baird, General Popham, General Bridges, General Stuart, General Hartley, the Commander-in-Chief was entitled, according to the authorities relied upon by the East India Company, TO ONLY ONE HALF OF THE ABOVE SUM, or .	162,453½
" *Over-paid to General Harris*	162,453½
" The other generals were entitled to half an eighth, or .	162,453½
" Generals Floyd and Stuart received 36,000 pagodas each, or 72,000	

* The reader will bear in mind that a *pagoda* is a gold coin of about eight shillings in value.

		Pagodas.
" Each of the other generals received 27,000 pagodas, or for four	108,000	180,000
" *Overpaid to the six generals under the Commander-in-Chief*		17,546½
" *Total overpaid, being so much deducted from the shares to the rest of the army*		180,000
	Or	£72,000

" It is the desire of the East India Company, which meets with the approbation of his Majesty's Government, if it can be done, that the appropriation which has taken place should be corrected, so as to make it conformable to usage, and that what has been received by the generals, beyond what they were entitled to, *should be refunded for the benefit of the rest of the army.*"

The following is the joint opinion of Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Solicitor-General and Mr. William Adam, on this delicate subject :—

OPINION.

" The appropriation made by the officers of this prize-money was undoubtedly (to say the least of it) very irregular, and without any colour of legal authority ; for under the circumstances in which this booty was taken,—namely, in an expedition carried on by the united forces of his Majesty and the East India Company,—there can be no doubt but, in law, the whole booty belonged to the King, subject to such distribution as he might be pleased to make of it ; but as his Majesty has by his grant confirmed the appropriation

which was made to his forces and those of the East India Company and the Nizam, the irregularity of the unauthorized appropriation is removed; but the distribution which was made upon a principle inconsistent with all former usage, is certainly by no means confirmed by the grant,—which grant was made, and as to distribution declared to be, in conformity with the usage in like cases, and must therefore have proceeded upon some misconception on the part of the East India Company as to what had been done by the committee of officers; and we therefore think it very desirable that this unwarrantable distribution which has given to the commanding officers, &c. so much greater a proportion of the booty than they can possibly be entitled to retain, should be corrected by themselves rather than by any legal proceeding; and for that purpose we recommend that some notice or representation should be made to them, accompanied with our opinion, if it should be thought to give any weight to such representation, which may give them an opportunity of reviewing the former distribution, and of restoring, by their own act, to the rest of the army what they have been deprived of by this unequal and uncustomary distribution. If, however, their opinion and view of this proceeding should differ from ours, we think it is then due, in justice to the army, that this distribution should be set aside in a court of justice; and although under all the circumstances of the case, we do not think that the East India Company can, in their own name, institute any proceeding which will compel the Commander-in-Chief and the two Generals next in command to refund what they have received beyond their just and

customary share, yet we are of opinion that a bill in equity may be filed against those officers by any of the individuals injured, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the army, stating the facts, and praying that those officers may account for what they have received beyond their proper shares, and that the same may be divided and distributed according to the usage of the service. To this bill it may be right that an injunction by the Attorney-General should be added on account of the interest which the King has, that his army should have secured to them the interest intended and granted to them; but this may be determined upon afterwards. If, however, we are right in the impression we have taken of the clear irregularity and inequality of the distribution which has taken place, we have little doubt that the commanding officers themselves will feel the propriety of settling this business without the disagreeable discussion which it would occasion in a court of justice.

(Signed) "SPENCER PERCEVAL,*
"THOMAS MANNERS SUTTON,†
"WILLIAM ADAM."‡

The East India Company also submitted a case to the King's advocate. They required his opinion "Whether the distribution which has taken place is

* The Hon. Spencer Perceval, Attorney-General, 1804; Prime Minister, 1809—assassinated 1812.

† Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, Solicitor-General, afterwards created Lord Manners and Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

‡ One of the most eminent lawyers of the day. Mr. Adam was one of the counsel engaged in the defence of Lord Melville, on the occasion of that noble Lord's impeachment in 1805.

conformable to *usage* with respect to the shares allotted to the Commander-in-Chief and general officers; and if it is not, whether it can be corrected, and how redress can be obtained?"

OPINION.

"The distributions with which I am principally acquainted are those relating to conjunct expeditions of army and navy, where the division of the booty is reserved by the Prize Act to his Majesty. The Act also allows the Commander-in-Chief to make agreements for the division, subject to the approbation and confirmation of his Majesty. I rather understand that in one or two instances at the commencement of the late war, and probably from oversight, agreements were confirmed and plans of distribution sanctioned by which the commanders-in-chief and the flag and general officers took amongst them more than one-eighth. But it was discovered that this was contrary to the act of Parliament, the fourth section of which directs "the share allotted to the fleet shall be distributed according to the proclamation; and the share assigned to the army shall be distributed amongst the officers and soldiers in proportions correspondent thereto." The Act, therefore, though it does not decide what part each service shall take, is imperative as to the shares in which the distribution shall be made amongst the several classes of each service. In all cases which have come under my immediate consideration since I have been in office, the distribution has invariably been to the commanders-in-chief, and the flag and general officers amongst them one-eighth and

no more. And I have known agreements between commanders-in-chief, by which it was proposed that the superior officers should take a larger share, refused to be confirmed. Few captures made solely by a military force at land have come within my observation. The Cochin capture was one, and in that his Majesty's grant was in the proportions already stated. I am therefore of opinion that the distribution stated to have taken place in this case is not conformable to usage. If it should be necessary to seek a remedy by process of law, I should apprehend that a bill in equity would be the best mode of pursuing it.

(Signed) "J. NICHOLL."

"15th July, 1804."

The failure of the proceedings in the court of chancery to compel General Harris and the other Generals to refund the surplus which they had appropriated to themselves, does not at all affect the merits of the question as stated by the law-officers of the crown. There were, confessedly, many legal difficulties in the way of those proceedings, after his Majesty (under the influence of misconception of the facts of the case) had confirmed by his grant the general appropriation.* This inglorious sequel to the triumphs of the war in Mysore might have been avoided, if the Generals had paid attention to the following hint of Mr. Spencer Perceval, Sir T. Manners Sutton, and Mr. W. Adam.

* All the acts relating to Army prize-money have been repeated by the 2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 53, which enacts that all captures made by the army shall be divided according to such general rule of distribution as the King shall direct.

"We recommend that some notice or representation should be made to them, accompanied with our opinion, if it should be thought to give any weight to such representation, which may give them an opportunity of reviewing the former distribution and of *restoring, by their own act, to the rest of the army, what they have been deprived of by this unequal and uncustomary distribution.*"

"*Memorandum respecting the Prize Property captured at Seringapatam.*

"Although it is not possible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy what the prize property in Seringapatam will amount to, yet from the various information obtained through the Mutseddies and others, employed in different departments under the late Sultaun, I am enabled to form the following estimation:

"1st—specie, 16,74,350 star pagodas; 2nd—jewels, gold and silver bullion, 25,00,000; 3rd—paddy, pepper, salt, and other articles, in the different granaries, 1,10,000; 4th—copper and brass pots, glasses, carpets, &c., 20,000; 5th—elephants, camels, horses, bullocks, would amount to 54,000; 6th—cloths of various sorts, &c. in the Tosha Khana, 2,00,000. Total, 45,58,350 star pagodas. Military stores not included.

"No remark is necessary on the 1st article. The estimation on the jewels is very uncertain; there are still twenty and more boxes, the contents of which have not been valued. Very little is known upon the subject of jewels, for no one among Tippoo's people has any idea of the contents of his treasury; so that

information is very little to be depended upon relative to this 2nd article. With regard to the 3rd, I have every reason to think that the estimation is correct. The 4th article consists of a variety of things, which, most probably, will produce the estimated sum. The 5th is composed of property of which I cannot procure an exact account. The 6th includes all the gold and silver cloths, and every article of that description, as well as sundry other commodities too particular to enumerate ; the estimation is within bounds.

" As the greater part of the captured property is composed of jewels, &c., articles which either Tippoo or his father Hyder had plundered, the Mutseddies and other persons of whom I have inquired declare that they cannot give any exact statement of the late Sultaun's riches. W. M. GORDON."

" Seringapatam, June 9, 1799."

" *Memorandum relative to the late French corps in the Deccan, by Captain Malcolm.*

" The French corps in the Deccan have for several years past hoisted the national flag, and most of the lapelles and epaulettes of their new clothing had the words *liberté* and *constitution* embroidered on them.

" The general conversation of the French officers after they were dismissed, proved that they had entertained ambitious designs, and considered themselves as forwarding the interests of their mother country. Captain Christoff, an officer of the party who had been formerly a sergeant of sepoys in the English service, affirmed that the late Monsieur Raymond had formed the most

ambitious projects, and that the same were adopted by his successor—and that the landing of any French in India, would probably have been the signal to commence their intrigues.*

"It was generally reported and believed that Raymond had a General's commission from the Directory, but it has not been discovered.

"In a letter which passed through the Resident at Hyderabad, recommending a person to Monsieur Piron, it was stated that the person recommended would, from having respectable connexions at Paris, be useful in transacting Monsieur Piron's affairs with the Directory.

"In a letter from Monsieur Baptiste, the second officer in the corps, to Captain Kirkpatrick, relative to his claims on the party and property at Hyderabad, Monsieur Baptiste expresses an apprehension that he will be unable to return to France, as Monsieur Piron will represent his conduct (to the Directory) in odious colours.

"There was found in store, when our troops took possession of the French lines, small arms and clothing for 12,000 men beyond the force then serving under Monsieur Piron, besides a number of pistols for cavalry.

"The French corps had three arsenals and two founderies. I only saw these at their lines, near Hyderabad. The arsenal there was full of military stores, and in the foundery, there were a number of brass cannon newly cast, which our artillery officers judged as good and as well finished as any they had ever seen.

* "This information I had from a gentleman to whom Christoff had communicated it."—*Note by Captain Malcolm.*

They also made swords, muskets, and pistols. The specimens I sent to Lord Mornington will show the great progress they had made in these manufactures.

"The French party were always well paid—their clothing was neat and their discipline superior to any troops I ever saw in a native service. The men were the best of the country—and from the regularity of their pay, they could recruit at pleasure."

Monsieur Piron, the commander of the French corps in the Deccan (usually called Raymond's corps), must not be confounded with General Perron, the French officer in the service of Scindiah, who held the Emperor of Delhi in his power, and who surrendered to General Lake in 1803; of whose exploits we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Public Profession of Attachment to the Christian Faith by the Government of India.—Suppression of Sunday Newspapers in India.—Important Influence of the Institution of the Sabbath in Heathen Countries.—Observations on the State of Religion in British India.—Lord Wellesley ordains a Day for a Public Thanksgiving.—Account of the Solemnities observed on the Occasion.—Sermon of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, &c.

We have already seen that Lord Wellesley had prohibited the publication of newspapers on Sunday. His Lordship's motive in taking this step, in connexion with other regulations, was, that the due observance of the Christian sabbath, without interfering with the rights, duties, obligations, or prejudices of the native population, should act morally on the mind of India, in utter unacquaintance with the nature and character of the true God. Apart from all cant or pharisaical formality, the sabbath is a blessed institution in any land, and has justly been assigned* as one of the great springs of European civilization;—

> "Sweet Sabbath morn!
> Soft steal thy bells upon the tranced mind,
> In fairy cadence floating on the wind,
> Telling of friends and times long flown away,
> And pensive hopes, harmonious with the day.
> On thy still dawn, while holy music peals,
> And far around the ling'ring echo steals,
> What heart communes not with the day's repose,
> And, lull'd by angel dreams, forgets its woes!"

But great as the influence of the institution of the

* Guizot's Lectures, &c.

sabbath on a community like our own unquestionably is, if we reflect, we shall see that it is designed to have a ten-fold greater influence in a land peopled by a race in ignorance of revealed religion.

The observance of the sabbath is essentially a public acknowledgment of belief in the God who made the heavens and the earth; and the institution of the christian sabbath necessarily implies a profession of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Every seventh day, therefore, an unostentatious proclamation of the true God was made in India; the recurrence of a day of rest and refreshment for man and beast, after the labour of the week, necessarily awakened curiosity and inquiry among the heathen dwellers in the British territory. However questionable, therefore, what is called sabbath legislation may be in this kingdom, we are inclined to think that Lord Wellesley performed his duty as a Christian governor in the regulation which he directed in his letter to Sir Alured Clarke, which has formed the subject of a separate chapter.

Lord Wellesley knew the character of the native population too well to attempt, or sanction, any indiscreet intermeddling with the deep-rooted prejudices of the Hindoo and Mahommedan races; he wisely refrained from unnecessary interference with their religious feelings;* but trusted to the slow and silent operation

* To such a length was this fear of hurting the prejudices of the natives, or interfering with their religious feelings carried, that up to the year 1845 the British Government in India were bound to punish with deprivation of goods, &c.., according to the provisions of the Hindoo and Mohammedan laws, a native who became a convert to the Christian religion. The *lex loci* of Sir Henry Hardinge, Bart. has happily put an end to this unjust and anomalous practice.

of the truth ; feeling that the surest way to impress the natives of India with a persuasion of the Divine origin of the gospel of Christ, was for the christian population to exhibit a regular observance of public worship, and, what is of far greater importance, an habitual performance of the moral duties enjoined by their more pure and elevated religion. Lord Wellesley conceived that it was the duty of the British Government in India to make a public official profession of allegiance to the author of christianity ; and while it observed the most cautious reserve in respect to the religious prejudices of the natives, and acted upon principles of the most comprehensive and generous toleration, not to conceal the fact from the subjects of the British Crown in Hindostan, that the British Nation were worshippers of the God of heaven. Guided by these motives, shortly after his Lordship's return to Calcutta, Lord Wellesley ordained that a day should be set apart for a public and general thanksgiving for the various successes which had attended the British arms in the tremendous struggle for national existence in which the crown and people of this empire were then engaged. The following is an official account of the observance of the solemnity.

" Fort William, February 13th, 1800.

" On Thursday last, the 6th of February, being the day appointed by the proclamation of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, in Council, to be observed as a day of general thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the late signal and important success obtained by the naval and military forces of his Majesty and of

his allies, and for the ultimate and happy establishment of the tranquillity and security of the British possessions in India, the Right Honourable the Governor-General, accompanied by the Chief Justice, the Commander-in-chief, the members of council, and the Judges of the supreme Court of Judicature, and by the public officers, civil and military, proceeded to the New Church, to return thanks to God for these great mercies and blessings.

His Lordship proceeded on foot from the Government-House to the church, at about half an hour past six o'clock in the morning, through the Council-house-street, which was lined by the body-guard, the native troops in garrison at Fort William, and Calcutta Native Militia, and the avenues into the streets through which his Lordship passed were guarded by parties detached from the above corps.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General was preceded by all the public officers, civil and military, and at the entrance of the church was met by the Chaplains attached to the Presidency.

The prayers which were selected for the occasion were read by the Rev. David Brown, the senior chaplain, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan. The *Te Deum* and appropriate anthems were sung.

Divine Service being ended, the Right Honourable the Governor-General, the Chief Justice, the Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. returned in their carriages.

Three royal salutes were fired from the ramparts of Fort William; the first, on the Governor-General's setting out; the second, during the celebration of the

Te Deum; and the third, on his Lordship's return. The guns from the ramparts of Fort William were answered by several ships in the port.

A great concourse of the native inhabitants of Calcutta were assembled in the streets during the progress of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, from the Government-House, and on his return.

At three o'clock in the evening, divine service was performed in Fort William, for the European troops in garrison.

The European and native troops in garrison fired three volleys from the ramparts of Fort William at sun-set.

At the same hour the Calcutta European militia, cavalry, and infantry paraded on their usual ground of exercise, and the last mentioned corps fired three volleys.

On this solemn occasion, all the persons (amounting to upwards of sixty in number), confined for debt in the prison of the Court of Requests, were liberated in the name of the Honourable Company, the respective sums for which they were imprisoned having been discharged by order of the Governor-General in council. Orders were also issued by his Lordship in council, for the discharge of the debts of several persons confined in the Calcutta gaol."

"MINUTE OF COUNCIL, FEB. 11.

"Ordered that the thanks of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, be given to the Rev.

Claudius Buchanan,* for the excellent sermon preached before his Lordship at the New Church of Calcutta, on the 6th day of February, the day of general thanksgiving, appointed by the Governor-General in council, and that Mr. Buchanan be desired to print the said sermon."

"The oblivion of the Sabbath in India," remarks the Rev. C. Buchanan, in his review of the state of religion in India, "is that which properly constitutes *banishment* from our country. The chief evil of our exile is found here; for this extinction of the sacred day tends, more than anything else, to eradicate from our minds all respect for religion, and affection for the manners and institutions, and even for the local scenes, of early life."

* It can scarcely be necessary to remind the reader that this is the same Rev. Claudius Buchanan who subsequently attracted so much attention by his writings in relation to the evangelization of India. We shall have occasion to speak of the reverend gentleman in a different character in another part of these volumes.

CHAPTER XIX.

Commission of Captain-General conferred for the first time on the Governor-General.—Copy of the Writ of Privy Seal.—General Orders in the *Calcutta Gazette*.—The Porte confers the Orders of the Creseent on the Marquess Wellesley.—Copy of the Letter from the Grand Seignior.—Congratulations in Letters from England from the Duchess of Gordon, Lord Dunstanville, Marquess Downshire, Earl of Westmeath, Earl of Inchiquin, Lord Howden, Right Hon. N. Vansittart, Sir John Newport, &c.—Letters of Sir Alured Clarke from St. Helena and from London.

As a mark of royal favour, his Majesty the King conferred upon the most noble the Governor-General, the rank of Captain-General, and Commander-in-chief of all the forces, in the East Indies,—vesting in his hands powers for the first time confided to the Indian Government. The following is a copy of the commission, which, it will be observed, gave to the Marquess Wellesley, as full authority over all military operations, as he had hitherto enjoyed over civil affairs in the East; it was received at Fort William on the 26th of February, 1801 :—

"George the Third, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting;

"Whereas, the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, by their commission under the seal of the said Company, bearing date

the 6th day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, have appointed our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, Richard Wellesley, Marquess Wellesley, (then Earl of Mornington,) of our kingdom of Ireland, and Baron Wellesley, of Wellesley, in our county of Somerset, in our kingdom of Great Britain, and Knight of the most illustrious order of Saint Patrick, to be, during the pleasure of the said Company, Governor-General of the said presidency of Fort William, in the Bay of Bengal, and of all the towns and territories thereunto belonging, and of all and singular the forts, factories, settlements, lands, territories, countries, and jurisdictions within the soubahship of Bengal, and of and for all the affairs whatsoever of the said Company, in the Bay of Bengal, and other, the places and provinces thereto belonging in the East Indies, together with all and every the powers and authorities committed and given to the Governor-General of Bengal, for the time being, by any act or acts of Parliament then in force; and by another commission under the seal of the said Company, bearing date the same sixth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, having appointed the said Richard Marquess Wellesley, Governor-General and Commander-in-chief of the fort and garrison of Fort William in Bengal, of the town of Calcutta, and of all the forces which then were, or thereafter should be, employed in the service of the said united Company, within the said fort, garrison, and town; and the said Company have also from time to time appointed officers to be commanders-in-chief of their forces at the said presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and their

presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay respectively, and also have occasionally appointed persons to be commanders-in-chief of all the said Company's forces in the East Indies. And whereas we have from time to time caused detachments of our land forces to be employed in the East Indies for the protection of the British territories there, and the annoyance of our enemies in those parts: And whereas difficulties have arisen and may arise in the direction and employment of our said forces, inasmuch as the same are under the immediate command of officers commissioned by us, and not by the said Company; and we are desirous of preventing such difficulties by giving authority to the said Richard Marquess Wellesley to act as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all forces in the East Indies, and thereby to put under his orders and directions all our land forces, as well as the military force in the service of the said united Company which may be employed in those parts: Now know ye that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudence, courage, and loyalty of the said Richard Marquess Wellesley, have made, constituted, and appointed, and do by these presents make, constitute, and appoint the said Richard Wellesley our Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all and singular our land forces employed or to be employed in our service within any of the British territories in India, and in all parts within the limits of the exclusive trade of the said united Company during our pleasure, to order, do, and perform all things whatsoever, which do or ought to belong to the office of our Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of our land forces, within the

parts aforesaid; and generally to order, do, and perform all and whatsoever for us, and in our name, ought to be done in the command, order and direction of our said forces, and also of all military forces whatsoever, in the parts aforesaid, which the said Richard Marquess Wellesley is not authorised and empowered to order, do, and perform, by virtue of the said commissions from the said united Company, it being our gracious will and intention by this our commission, to give to the said Richard Marquess Wellesley full power and authority to order, direct, and control all military forces employed or to be employed in the territories and parts aforesaid, in all cases to which the commissions so granted by the said united Company to the said Richard Marquess Wellesley, cannot extend for want of powers in the said Company for that purpose: and we do hereby command all our officers and soldiers who are or shall be employed in our land service within any of the territories and parts aforesaid, to acknowledge and obey the said Richard Marquess Wellesley as their Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief; but nevertheless we do strictly enjoin and command the said Richard Marquess Wellesley, in the exercise of the powers and authorities given to him by these presents, to observe and obey all such instructions, orders, and directions from time to time, as the said Richard Marquess Wellesley shall receive from the First Commissioner for the affairs of India, or from any of our principal secretaries of state: Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that if the said Richard Marquess Wellesley shall cease to be Governor-General of the Presidency of the British territories in Bengal,

as aforesaid, then and from thenceforth all and every the powers and authorities hereby given to the said Richard Marquess Wellesley shall cease, determine, and become void, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves at Westminster, the seventh day of August, in the fortieth year of our reign. By writ of privy seal,

"YORKE."

On the receipt of this commission general orders were published in the *Calcutta Gazette* to the effect that all appointments and commissions would, as heretofore, be filled up by the general officer holding the commission of Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces, and that all applications and correspondence respecting the said forces should be addressed to that officer as usual.

Respecting Lord Wellesley's elevation to the post of Captain-General, Lord Clive writes :—"I congratulate your Lordship most cordially upon your appointment to be Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief in India ; not merely as an accession of dignity and honour to your Lordship which is highly pleasing to me, but as placing a necessary control in the hands of the Governor-General, and increasing the energy and efficiency of his government."

The Sublime Porte in April, 1802, rewarded the Marquess Wellesley's zeal in behalf of the interests of the Ottoman Empire, by conferring on his Lordship the order of the Crescent :

(Translation of a Letter from the Kaymakan to the Right Honourable Lord Wellesley, Governor-General of Bengal, delivered by the Reys Effendi to forward the 30th of April, 1802.)

"To the noblest among the Princes believing in the Messiah, support of the Grandees of the Christian nation, the Governor-General of the British dominions in the East Indies, his Excellency the most esteemed and beloved Lord Wellesley, our friend ; may his end be attended with happiness.

"After our sincere assurances of perfect friendship and regard, we have hereby the pleasure of acquainting your Excellency that the exertion and zeal which have been evinced by your Lordship in sending so opportunely the corps of troops belonging to your establishment, who have been destined by the Court of Great Britain to coöperate in the late expedition, together with the forces of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, not only have served to strengthen the bonds of union and friendship so firmly subsisting between the two Courts, but also to secure to you the friendly esteem of the Emperor, whose favourable opinion of your Excellency is equal to the satisfaction he has reaped from your zealous conduct.

"Indeed the measures in defence of the common cause in question, were but the natural result of the candid friendship, since time immemorial, subsisting between the Sublime Porte and the Court of Great Britain, but more particularly of the concert and union which have prevailed, with such reciprocal good faith, since the contracted alliance.

"As a mark of approbation of that exertion and

zeal, therefore, which have been so manifestly witnessed on your part, and a token of distinction and compliment, the Sublime Porte have prepared and destined for your Lordship the Order of the Crescent, of the first rank, consisting of a half moon, fixed in the middle of a star set with brilliants, together with a ribbon, the two ends whereof joined by a medal bearing the Grand Signor's cypher in gold.

"We have, therefore, the pleasure of writing this official letter, to inquire after your health, and to acquaint your Excellency with the transmission of the above imperial mark of attention expressive of his Highness's satisfaction, herewith annexed.

"On its reception, (please God,) and on your Lordship becoming acquainted with its tenor and motive, we hope your Excellency will not refuse to act up to the dictates of friendship, and to fulfil the rules of the sincere intimacy between the two countries. Your friend,

(L. S.) MUSTAFFA KAYMAKAN."

Congratulations on the result of the war with Tippoo Sultaun, and the brilliant events connected with it, poured in upon Lord Wellesley from home:— "At this moment, my dear Lord," writes the Duchess of Gordon, with some enthusiasm, "you are the admiration of all Europe! May you long enjoy the glorious laurels you have gained, in health, happiness, and every domestic blessing!" Her Ladyship adds:—"I have to congratulate you upon your dear sister Lady Anne's marriage; she has made a choice all her friends approved of; I don't know a more

amiable man.* Lady Mornington was so good as to let your lovely boys come and see me when in town. I left your friend and mine, Le Premier,† in better health and spirits than I have seen him for some years. I spent some days at Wimbledon with the *gang*,‡ and left with regret. I hear Lord Cornwallis talks with rapture and surprise of your noble administration in India, and he is a good judge." Lord Dunstanville observes, in a private letter :—"The general joy has been mixed with no little astonishment, that you have been able, in so short a time, to destroy so formidable an opponent as Tippoo." The Marquess Downshire says :—"I hope you have received my former letter, which very faintly expressed what I felt upon the news of your victorious success, which I attribute as much to your excellent government and management as to the bravery of our troops. Lady Downshire joins me in all congratulations, and hourly wishes for your happiness. Give my affectionate compliments to General Wellesley and Henry, and believe me to be your affectionate friend." The Earl of Westmeath writes :—"I am happy, my dear Lord, in this opportunity of offering you my most hearty congratulations on the brilliant success which has attended your spirited efforts in India." "I thank you, my dear Lord," remarks the Earl of Inchiquin, "for the papers you were so good as to order for me. Your kind remembrance has given additional satisfaction and heartfelt gratification in reading the never-to-be-forgotten accounts of your most glorious, great, and manly exer-

* *Vide* p. 21.

† Pitt.

‡ Mr. Dundas and friends.

tions in your conquests in India, executed in a manner to make all your predecessors hide their diminished heads: your achievements have silenced the blackest and most determined oppositions." General Cradock,* writing from Malta, says:—"I cannot avoid any opportunity of adding my voice to the acclamation that has followed all your Lordship's career in the East Indies." "I am happy," says the Right Hon. N. Vansittart, "to have this opportunity of congratulating your Lordship on the splendid triumphs of the British counsels and British arms in India." Sir John Newport writes in a still warmer strain of admiring friendship:—"My dear Lord: Many years have elapsed since we have met, still more since we have corresponded; yet, believe me, no man has more warmly participated in your triumphs, or done more ample homage to the ability which effected them. I often gloried in the exertions of the friend of my youth in defence of our common country."

During the whole period of the Marquess Wellesley's administration in India, he was cheered by similar testimonies of the approval of the most eminent among his contemporaries, whose good opinion, in some measure, alleviated the bitterness of the resentment and opposition of mistaken and prejudiced opponents.

The following letters of Sir Alured Clarke, which are the last in the collection, are here added:—

* Lord Howden.

FROM SIR A. CLARKE TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

"St. Helena, May 31, 1801.

"My dear Lord,—

"I ought to apologise for troubling your Lordship with a letter, merely to acquaint you that we arrived at this island on the 21st instant, when we had the mortification to learn that the allied fleet had sailed with convoy a month before, and that we were consequently to proceed without any, as we shall do to-morrow, and of course *run the gauntlet* of whatever may be in the way, which, under present circumstances, is not very pleasant.

"I have been much amused in exploring the beauties of this uncommonly mountainous, yet delightful island, which I have nearly traversed all over, under the guidance of Major Cocks, the chief engineer, and a member of the government, an intelligent officer, who came from England a few months ago, and seems much interested about, and anxious to correct any errors in, its defences.

"Governor Brooks's bad state of health had obliged him to go home, and we found Colonel Robinson in charge of the government, who has treated us with the utmost kindness and hospitality. One of his daughters is lately married to Captain Scott, of the Bengal establishment, who takes this letter to your Lordship; and the Governor and his lady, who have manifested an equal desire to make our situation here pleasant, are so much interested in her welfare, that I cannot avoid gratifying them by introducing the

young lady and her husband to your Lordship's favourable notice.

"An American ship, that left Bengal three weeks after us, arrived here a few days since, from which I learn with much satisfaction, that the Commander-in-Chief and his family arrived at Fort William on the 13th of March; and I have written a few lines of congratulation to him upon the occasion by this opportunity.

"Your intelligence from Europe must be much later than any we have received; it is therefore unnecessary for me to trouble your Lordship on that subject.

"Pray do me the favour to make an offer of my compliments and best wishes to your brother the *Cavalry Major*, whose health I hope is quite restored; and do me the honour to believe that I am, with true respect and regard and earnest good wishes that health and happiness may constantly attend you, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most faithful humble servant, ALURED CLARKE.

"P. S. Lieutenant-Colonels Cliffe and Gordon beg me to solicit your Lordship's acceptance of their most respectful compliments."

"Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square,
March 4th, 1802.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Having experienced the most marked attention and kindness from Captain Adam Cumine in his private capacity, as well as the most vigilant and judicious conduct in the care and management of his ship during the five months that we were making our passage from

Bengal, I feel myself called upon, no less by public duty than personal regard for that excellent officer, to mention him in the most favourable terms to your Lordship, which I beg leave to do; and at the same time to assure you that I shall feel much obliged by any civility, or kind indulgence if he should have occasion to need it, that you may be good enough to show him.

"I have the pleasure of seeing Lady Wellesley frequently, and the satisfaction to inform you that she is in high health, and, hoping you will not deem it impertinent, I may and must add, great beauty; her charming children promise to be everything you can wish. I am, my Lord, with true respect and regard, your Lordship's most obedient and very faithful humble servant, ALURED CLARKE."

CHAPTER XX.

Treaties negotiated by the Marquess Wellesley with various Native States.—Treaties of Hyderabad.—Jealousy of the Mahrattas.—Closer Allianee between the Nizam and the English. — Surat. — Historieal Sketeh.—Death of the Nawâb.— Negotiations with his Sueeessor.— Governor Dunean proeeeds from Bombay to Surat.—Treaty eoneluded. —The Rajah of Nepaul seeks Refuge at Benares.—Negotiations and Treaty with his Highness.—Negotiations with the Court of Ava.— Marquess Wellesley's Measures. — Flight of several Thousands of Agrieulturists from the Burmese Territory.—They take Refuge in the British Dominions. — Invasions of the Burmese. — Negotiations. — Peaee firmly reëstablished.—Letter from Col. Symes.—Dr. F. Buchanan's Mission to Mysore.—Growth of Cotton in India.

In addition to the subsidiary treaties with the Soubahdar of the Deccan, the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Rajah of Mysore, already negotiated and ratified by the Marquess Wellesley, we are now called on to notice negotiations of great permanent importance to the stability of the East India Company's dominions with reference to Ava, the frontier kingdom of Nepaul, and Surat—by the Mohammedans styled "the gate of the Holy City," but frequented by many of the worshippers of Zoroaster, who conducted from thence a lucrative trade with the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia; nor must the additional treaty of Hyderabad escape our attention. The jealous, and almost hostile, spirit with which the Mahrattas regarded our operations against Tippoo, and the conflicts with which the southern part of the peninsula was threatened from the weak

and distracted condition of the Peishwah's Government, pointed out the urgent necessity of adding, by every practicable means, to the efficiency of the alliance with the Nizam ; as that became the chief, and, after the defection of the Peishwah, the only means of protecting the British possessions, and those of its allies, in a state of peace and tranquillity.

For the attainment of this object, it was necessary to add to the strength of the subsidiary force with the Nizam ; and to adopt measures that would secure the English Government against those risks, to which it was probable this connexion would be early exposed, from the weak and fluctuating councils of that Prince.

To effect this important point, nothing seemed so desirable, as to commute the monthly pecuniary payment of subsidy for a cession of territory. The advantages of such an arrangement were manifold, and obvious. An end would undoubtedly be put, by its adoption, to that constant recurrence of irritation, which must always be expected to attend large pecuniary payments from sordid or extravagant Courts. The resources upon which the support of a large English force must depend, would be placed in the hands of the British Government, instead of being in those of another state, whose imprudence, distress, or treachery, might, at any critical moment, endanger the general safety. And the wish which, it was possible, a future weak or fickle administration at Hyderabad might entertain, of freeing that state from a connexion, from which it might think it had derived all the benefit that it could expect, and the expense of which continued a burden upon its finances, would cease to ope-

rate ; when it had, by a cession of territory, paid in perpetuity, and by advance, for the services of the corps by which its dominions were protected. These were among the leading considerations which induced Lord Wellesley to enter into the negotiation with the Nizam ; which terminated in the conclusion of a new treaty with that Prince, bearing date the 12th of October, 1800.

By this treaty, the British Government engaged to permit no power nor state whatever to commit with impunity any act of unprovoked aggression or hostility upon the territories of the Nizam : and to enable the Company to fulfil this engagement in an efficient manner, two battalions of sepoys, and a regiment of native cavalry, were permanently added to the subsidiary force to be maintained by the state of Hyderabad. To secure the constant and regular payment of this augmented force, the Nizam ceded in perpetuity to the Company all the territories which he had acquired by the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792, and the treaty of Mysore in 1799. With a view of preserving a well-defined boundary, some changes were made in this cession ; the Nizam retaining Kupoor, Gujunder, Ghur, &c., and giving Adone, &c., in their lieu,—countries situated to the south of the river Toombuddrah, which, by this settlement, formed the boundary between the two states.

In the event of war taking place between the contracting parties and a third state, the Nizam agreed, that the whole of the subsidiary force, except two battalions, which were to be kept near his person, were to be employed against the enemy ; and that the force

was, on such event, to be immediately joined by six thousand infantry, and nine thonsand horse of his own troops.

The Nizam also agreed to enter into no negotiation with other states, without informing and consulting the Company's Government: and the latter agreed, that it would in no instance interfere with the Nizam's children, relations, or subjects; with respect to whom it would always consider him absolute.

The Nizam engaged not to commit hostilities against any other state; and, in the event of differences arising between him and another power, it was stipulated, that they were to be adjusted by the Company's Government, and that the Nizam was to acquiesce in the justice of its decision.

It was stipulated, that in the event of either the Peishwah, Ragojee, Bhonslah, or Doulut Row Scindiah, desiring to be a party in this treaty, they should be admitted to all its advantages.

The revenue of the territories ceded to the Company by this treaty was about 1,758,000 of pagodas: but their importance, in a political and military point of view, was still greater than their pecuniary value: for this cession, while it terminated, as has been shown, those constant recurring causes of irritation, to which we were subject as long as this payment was made in monthly instalments, added, from the local situation of the districts, to the security of the former possessions of the Company on the coast of Coromandel, and to those of the new state of Mysore; to both of which they formed a defined and good military barrier.

It has been before stated, that the British Govern-

ment had reserved a considerable portion of the conquered territories of Tippoo Sultaun, to be given to the Peishwah, on the condition of that Prince acceding to an alliance calculated to preserve the general tranquillity. Badjerow, however, acting under the control of Doulut Row Scindiah, who continued with a large army, and almost the whole of his French brigades, at Poonah, rejected this equitable proposal; and the reserved territory was shared agreeably to the stipulations of the partition treaty between the English Government and that of Hyderabad.*

In a dispatch to the Court of Directors, dated June, 1800, the Marquess Wellesley mentions his intention of directing his attention to the circumstances of Nepaul: "I have the honour to inform your Honourable Committee that the Rajah Nepaul arrived at Benares on the 18th ultimo, having judged it necessary to seek refuge in the Company's territories from the designs which he supposed to be entertained by his disaffected subjects against his person. This Rajah had formally abdicated the government (about eighteen months before his flight) in favour of an infant son; but had continued to interfere occasionally in the direction of affairs. It appears that he had ultimately resumed the whole administration of the government, and had exercised it with a degree of rigour which had excited a general spirit of revolt. I have directed my agent at Benares, to manifest to the Rajah every possible mark of respect and attention, and I entertain considerable expectations that I shall be enabled to improve this occurrence to the attainment of such a degree of influence in the

* Malcolm.

government of Nepaul, as may open the prospect of establishing a commercial intercourse with that country mutually beneficial to both states." On the 30th of October, the following treaty was negotiated by the Governor-General with the Rajah of Nepaul:—

"Whereas it is as evident as the noon-day sun to the enlightened understanding of exalted nobles and of powerful chiefs and rulers, that Almighty God has entrusted the protection and government of the universe to the authority of princes, who make justice their principle, and that by the establishment of a friendly connexion between them universal happiness and prosperity is secured, and that the more intimate the relation of amity and union, the greater is the general tranquillity; in consideration of these circumstances, his Excellency the most noble the Governor-General Marquess Wellesley, &c. &c. and the Maha Rajah have established a system of friendship between the respective Governments of the Company and the Rajah of Nepaul, and have agreed to the following articles.

"Art. 1.—It is necessary and incumbent upon the principals and officers of the two governments constantly to exert themselves to improve the friendship subsisting between the two states, and to be zealously and sincerely desirous of the prosperity and success of the government and subjects of both.

"Art. 2.—The incendiary and turbulent representations of the disaffected, who are the disturbers of our mutual friendship, shall not be attended to, without investigation and proof.

"Art. 3.—The principals and officers of both govern-

ments will cordially consider the friends and enemies of either state to be the friends and enemies of the other; and this consideration must ever remain permanent and in force, from generation to generation.

"Art. 4.—If any one of the neighbouring powers of either state should commence any altercation or dispute, and design, without provocation, unjustly to possess himself of the territories of either country, and should entertain hostile intentions with the view of taking that country, the Vakeels on the part of our respective government at either court will fully report all particulars to the head of the state, who, according to the obligations of friendship subsisting between the two states, after having heard the said particulars, will give whatever answer and advice may be proper.

"Art. 5.—Whenever any dispute of boundary and territory between the two countries may arise, such dispute shall be decided, through our respective Vakeels or our officers, according to the principles of justice and right; and a land-mark shall be placed upon the said boundary, and which shall constantly remain, that the officers, both now and hereafter, may consider it as a guide, and not make any encroachment.

"Art. 6.—Such places as are upon the frontiers of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier and of Nepaul, and respecting which any dispute may arise, such dispute shall be settled by the mediation of the Vakeel on the part of the Company, in the presence of one from the Nepaul Government, and one from his Excellency the Vizier.

"Art. 7.—So many elephants, on account of Manickpoor, are annually sent to the Company by the

Rajah of Nepaul, and therefore the Governor-General, with a view of promoting the satisfaction of the Rajah of Nepaul, and in consideration of the improved friendly connexion and of this new treaty, relinquishes and foregoes the tribute above mentioned, and directs that the officers of the Company, both now and hereafter, from generation to generation, shall never, during the continuance of the engagement contracted by this treaty (so long as the conditions of this treaty shall be in force), exact the elephants from the Rajah.

"Art. 8.—If any of the dependants or inhabitants of either country should fly and take refuge in the other, and a requisition should be made for such persons, on the part of the Nepaul Government, by its constituted Vakeel in attendance on the Governor-General, or on the part of the Company's Government, by its representative residing at Nepaul, it is, in this case, mutually agreed, that if such person should have fled after transgressing the laws of his government, it is incumbent upon the principals of both governments immediately to deliver him up to the Vakeel at their respective courts, that he may be sent in perfect security to the frontiers of their respective territories.

"Art. 9.—The Maha Rajah of Nepaul agrees, that a Pergunnah, with all the lands attached to it, excepting privileged lands and those appropriated to religious purposes and to Jaggeers, &c. which are specified separately in the account of collections, shall be given up to Samee Jeo, for his expenses, as a present. The conditions, with respect to Samee Jeo,* are, that if he should remain at Benares, or at any other place within

* The Ex-Rajah of Nepaul.

the Company's provinces, and should spontaneously farm his Jaggeer to the officers of Nepaul, in that event the amount of collections shall be punctually paid to him, agreeably to certain kists which may be hereafter settled; that he may appropriate the same to his necessary expenses, and that he may continue in religious abstraction, according to his agreement, which he had engraved on brass, at the time of his abdication of the Raj,* and of his resigning it in my favour. Again, in the event of his establishing his residence in his Jaggeer, and of his realizing the collections through his own officers, it is proper that he should not keep such a one and other disaffected persons in his service; and besides one hundred men and maid servants, &c. he must not entertain any persons as soldiers, with a view to the collection of the revenue of the Pergunnah; and to the protection of his person he may take two hundred soldiers of the forces of the Nepaul Government, the allowances of whom shall be paid by the Rajah of Nepaul. He must be cautious, also, of commencing altercation, either by speech or writing; neither must he give protection to the rebellious and fugitives of the Nepaul country, nor must he commit plunder and devastation upon the subjects of Nepaul. In the event of such delinquency being proved, to the satisfaction of the two governments, the aid and protection of the Company shall be withdrawn from him; and in that event, also, it shall be at the option of the Rajah of Nepaul, whether or not he will confiscate his Jaggeer.

"The Maha Rajah also agrees on his part, that if

* Government.

Samee Jeo should take up his residence within the Company's provinces, and should farm out his land to the officers of Nepaul, and that the kists should not be paid according to agreement, or that he should fix his residence on his Jaggeer, and any of the inhabitants of Nepaul should give him or the Ryots of his Pergunnah any molestation, a requisition shall be made by the Governor-General and the Company, on this subject, to the Rajah. The Governor-General is security for the Rajah's performance of this condition, and the Maha Raja will immediately acquit himself of the requisition of the Governor-General, agreeably to what is above written. If any profits should arise in the collection of the said Pergunnah, in consequence of the activity of the officers, or any defalcation occurs from their inattention, in either case, the Rajah of Nepaul will be totally unconcerned.

"Art. 10.—With a view of carrying into effect the different objects contained in this treaty, and of promoting other verbal negotiation, the Governor-General and the Rajah of Nepaul, under the impulse of their will and pleasure, depute a confidential person to each other as Vakeel, that remaining in attendance upon their respective governments, they may effect the objects above specified, and promote whatever may tend to the daily improvement of the friendship subsisting between the two states.

"Art. 11.—It is incumbent upon the principals and officers of the two states, that they should manifest the regard and respect to the Vakeel of each other's government, which is due to their rank, and is prescribed by the laws of nations; and that they should endeavour,

to the utmost of their power, to advance any object which they may propose, and to promote their ease, comfort, and satisfaction, by extending protection to them; which circumstances are calculated to improve the friendship subsisting between the two governments, and to illustrate the good name of both states throughout the universe.

"Art. 12.—It is incumbent upon the Vakeels of both states, that they should hold no intercourse whatever with any of the subjects or inhabitants of the country, excepting with the officers of government, without the permission of those officers; neither should they carry on any correspondence with any of them: and if they should receive any letter or writing from any such people, they should not answer it without the knowledge of the head of the state, and acquainting him of the particulars which will dispel all apprehension or doubt between us, and manifest the sincerity of our friendship.

"Art. 13.—It is incumbent upon the principals and officers mutually to abide by the spirit of this treaty, which is now drawn out according to their faith and religion, and deeming it in force from generation to generation, that they should not deviate from it: and any person who may transgress against it, will be punished by Almighty God, both in this world and in a future state.

(A true translation.) "C. Russell,
"Assistant Persian Translator."

"Ratified by the Governor-General and Council,
"30th October, 1801."

In 1798, while engaged in preparations against Tippoo Sultaun, and endeavouring to disarm the French corps of 14,000 men in the service of the Nizam, the Governor-General opened communications with the Peishwah in the hope of bringing that Mahratta prince into closer relations with the Government of Fort William. The Court of Poonah, however, declined the overtures of the British resident; — cautiously waiting the result of the attack on Seringapatam, and probably resolved to side with the Sultaun in the event of his being victorious, or on the arrival of the French succours. Into the memorable proceedings respecting the Mahratta empire, which led to the splendid military achievements of "Lake,"* and "General Wellesley," we shall have occasion to enter at length in another part of these volumes.

The treaty with the Nabob of Surat was concluded on the 13th of May, 1801. After the conquest of Hindostan by the Mohammedans, Surat was the chief port at which they embarked on their pilgrimage to Mecca. When the Europeans first discovered the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, it was the greatest place of maritime commerce on the continent of India; being in immediate communication with the richest provinces in the Mogul empire, and conveniently situated for trading, not only with the western coast of that continent, but with the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia. The Portuguese were the first Europeans that reached the western coast of India by sea: after establishing themselves at Calicut, Goa, and Damaun, they began to trade with Surat, about 1561.

* General, afterwards Lord Lake.

In 1603 Mr. Middenhall, a London merchant, reached Agra, and, in 1606, obtained an ample grant of commercial privileges by a firmaun from the Emperor Jehanghir. In 1610 Sir Henry Middleton, on proceeding to Surat, found some Portuguese ships ready to oppose him, and was therefore obliged to fight for our first trifling trade with the inhabitants of Hindostan; and this was the commencement of a series of actions fought with the Portuguese by Captain Best in 1612 and 1613, and by Captain Downton in 1614, in all of which the English were successful. The consequence of these successes was, that a factory was established at Surat, by treaty with the Governor of Ahmedabad, in December, 1612, and confirmed by an imperial firmaun in 1613. The Dutch also came to Surat about this time, and became powerful rivals to the English, as well as to the Portuguese: they carried on a thriving trade for about a century. The French were long after the Dutch and English in trading to Surat; and though they had a factory there, they never prospered, and at last abandoned it without paying their debts. In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe landed at Surat, whence he proceeded to the Emperor at Agra, and obtained grants for the establishment of factories at Surat, Cambay, and elsewhere. Surat now became the chief station of the East India Company on the west coast of India. In 1635, however, a rival association was formed in England, at the head of which was Sir William Courten, one of whose ships seized and plundered two native junks belonging to Surat and Diu. In reprisal, the president and council were imprisoned by the Mohammedan Governor of Surat (the Nawâb), and the pro-

perty of the factory was confiscated. Though the factory was soon afterwards reëstablished, the English trade continued in a declining state. In January, 1664, Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta power, made a predatory attack on Surat. The inhabitants fled into the country, and the Nawâb shut himself up in his castle. Sevajee proceeded to plunder the city, and at the same time invested the castle, and demanded the surrender of the factory. Sir George Oxenden was then the chief of the English factory. Sir George's answer to Sevajee's demand was:—"We are here on purpose to maintain the house to the death of the last man, and therefore delay not your coming upon us." Sir George called in the aid of the ships' crews: they made sorties with such gallantry as to prevent Sevajee from plundering the part of the town in which the English factory was situated, and he soon after retired. The Nawâb presented Sir George with a Kelaut, and recommended the interests of the Company to Aurungzebe with such effect, that the Emperor, by a firmaun, remitted the customs at Surat to all merchants for one year, and granted a perpetual remission of a part of the duties to the English in particular. Surat continued to be the chief seat of government, under the East India Company, till 1686, when it was removed to Bombay. In 1787, the conduct of Sir John Child having exasperated Aurungzebe, the factories at Surat, Bombay, and other places were seized; but after making submission, they were restored. Surat was fined 150,000 rupees. The city was afterwards partially pillaged by the Mahrattas more than once, and the Nawâb was obliged to

pay them an annual tribute, or chout. The expense which the British incurred by maintaining the defences of the castle of Surat exceeded the allowance made by the Nawâb for its support; and the English authorities were desirous of having part of the Nawâb's disorderly troops disbanded and the revenue increased so as to maintain three local battalions. In 1799 while the negotiation was pending the Nawâb died, leaving an infant son and a brother, who claimed the throne. The dispute in the succession afforded the Government a plea for interference, and by the active exertions of Mr. Governor Duncan, who proceeded from Bombay to Surat, the following treaty, drawn up by the Marquess Wellesley was finally agreed upon :—

Articles of Agreement between the Honourable East India Company and their successors, and the Nabob Nasur-ud-Deen-Khan, &c., &c., and his heirs and successors, for the better administration of the Government of the city of Surat and its dependencies.

"Whereas the Honourable English East India Company have been subjected to a heavy expense for the protection of the city of Surat, and whereas the existing system of internal government in the said city has been found inadequate to the protection of the persons and property of the inhabitants; and whereas the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington, Governor-General of the British Possessions in India, and the Nabob Nasur-ud-Deen, &c. are mutually desirous of providing more effectually for the external defence of the city of Surat, and for the security, ease, and happiness of the inhabitants; the following articles of

agreement are concluded on behalf of the Honourable English East India Company and their successors, by the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, vested with full powers, for that purpose, by the said Governor-General on the one part, and by the Nabob Nasur-ul-Deen, and his heirs and successors, on the other part.

"Art. 1.—The friendship subsisting between the Honourable English Company and the Nabob Nasur-ul-Deen Khan, &c. &c. is hereby strengthened and confirmed, and the friends and the enemies of one shall be considered to be the friends and enemies of the other.

"Art. 2.—The Nabob Nasur-ul-Deen agrees, that the management and collection of the revenues of the city of Surat, and of the territories, places, and other dependencies thereof, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and generally the whole civil and military government of the said city and its dependencies, shall be vested for ever, entirely and exclusively, in the honourable English Company.

"Art. 3.—It is agreed that the Nabob shall be treated on all occasions with the same respect and distinction as his predecessors.

"Art. 4.—The English Company agree to pay to the Nabob Nasur-ul-Deen and his heirs, out of the revenues of Surat and its dependencies, in four equal quarterly payments, one lac of rupees annually, which shall be considered to be the first charge payable from the said revenues. The Company also engage to pay to the said Nabob and his heirs, in addition to the above-mentioned lac of rupees, a proportion of one fifth part of the annual revenues now arising, or which may here-

after arise, from the said city and its dependencies, after deducting the said lac of rupees, the sum payable to the Mahrattas and the charges of collection. The residue of the revenues, after the foregoing deductions, shall be at the disposal of the said Company.

"Art. 5.—In order that the Nabob may at all times have full satisfaction, in respect to the revenues of Surat and its dependencies, he, the said Nabob, shall be at liberty to inspect all the accounts thereof, from time to time, or to station a vakeel, or accountant, at his own expense, in all or any of the offices of collection, for the purpose of taking and transmitting to his Excellency copies of all or any of the accounts of the said revenues.

"Art. 6.—Courts shall be established for the due administration of civil and criminal justice; which courts, agreeably to the stipulations in the second article, shall be under the sole authority of the English East India Company. The said court shall be composed of officers to be appointed by the Governor in council of Bombay for the time being, and shall be conducted according to such ordinances and regulations (framed with a due regard to the existing laws and usages of the country) as shall, from time to time, be published by the said Governor in council.

"Art. 7.—In complaints brought before the courts of justice, in which it shall appear, either by the application of the Nabob, or the representation of the defendant, at or before the time of giving in his or her answer, or by the petition of the complainant, that both parties are relations or servants of the Nabob, it is agreed, that such parties shall, in the first instance,

be referred for justice to the Nabob, or to any person he may appoint to dispense it. Any complaint against the relations or immediate servants of the Nabob, by persons of a different description, shall, in the first instance, be made to the chief civil servant of Surat, who shall refer it to the Nabob, who hereby engages to order an immediate investigation to be made, or in case the parties should desire it, to order the disputes to be referred to a proper arbitration, the Nabob engaging to bring it to a direct issue, and to carry the sentence or award, if unfavourable to his relation or servant, into immediate execution.

"By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in council.

(Signed). "G. H. BARLOW,"

"Chief Secretary to the Government."

In the Marquess Wellesley's correspondence with Sir Alured Clarke, the hostile demonstrations of the Burmese are more than once referred to. In a dispatch, June 1800, his Lordship mentioned to the Court of Directors the steps he had taken in consequence. "Captain Hill returned from his mission to Arracan in the month of May last. He was soon followed by an ambassador from thence in pursuance of orders from the King of Ava. I have lately dismissed this ambassador with such explanations and assurances with regard to the emigrants from Arracan as I trust will satisfy the Court of Ava, and contribute to maintain the harmony subsisting between the two Governments." The Mughs, an agricultural race settled in Arracan, being subjected to the most

cruel oppression and bondage by the Burmese, emigrated in thousands, in the years 1797 and 1798, to the district of Chittagong, where many of their brethren had found refuge, and experienced the tranquil blessings of British rule. The Burmese, animated with the spirit of the Pharaoh who pursued the children of Israel under pretty similar circumstances, invaded the British territory for the purpose of bringing back the emigrants :—this invasion produced the hostilities and negotiations alluded to. In 1798 nearly 30,000 of these wretched beings sought safety in the English territory. The fugitives were to be seen flying through the wilds and deserts without any preconcerted plan, numbers dying from want, famine, and fatigue. The road to the Naaf river—the boundary between the English and Burman territories—was strewed with the bodies of the aged, and of women and infants who perished on the journey.

"I anticipate," says Captain Cox, "the sensations of the Honourable Board on perusing this statement, so afflicting to humanity ; and I dismiss all fear of being deemed improperly importunate in earnestly entreating their early decision on the means of terminating the sufferings of the emigrants. The good of the state demands the encouragement of cultivation in this fair, fertile, and hitherto neglected district. I am decidedly of opinion that the whole of the emigrants should be settled together : collected, they will materially assist and comfort each other ; they may more easily be protected from the injuries to which their ignorance exposes them. Governed by their own laws and customs, they will soon be naturalized to the soil, increase

rapidly in strength and numbers, and become a useful and flourishing colony; while, if dispersed, individuals, indeed, might derive temporary benefit, but the majority would probably drag out a wretched, vagabond life, and, at no distant period, become extinct.

"The situation which I should recommend for their settlement is the district between the Mars Callis or Ramoo river, and the Naaf. My reasons for this choice are as follows:—

"1st.—The emigrants themselves prefer it.

"2nd.—The lands are almost entirely unoccupied, and nearly free of legal claims, so that their settlement on them will be less difficult or expensive.

"3rd.—They are, for the most part, under forest, and being so remote a frontier, hitherto subject to incursions of an active and audacious enemy, no other description of persons would choose to undertake the arduous task of clearing them.

"4th.—The former refugees, being already settled on the borders of this district, will render material assistance to this infant colony.

"5th.—The vicinity of the sea, and three navigable rivers, will prove an abundant resource in the article of provisions, as the natives of Arracan are very expert fishermen.

"6th.—The great, and indeed the only, objection that I know of to the settling of the emigrants in this district is, that it will be an eternal cause of jealousy to their former masters, and that their predatory incursions into Arracan may provoke an inextinguishable rupture with the Burmah Government.

"In respect to the first branch of this objection, I

have to reply that the rupture was not of our seeking, and humanity has already decided the choice of our alternative. In respect to the second, assuredly every irregularity may be prevented by the establishment of a proper post on the Naaf, and the vigilant administration of the person who may be appointed to govern this district."

In 1802 Marquess Wellesley sent Lieutenant-Colonel Symes as ambassador to the Court of Ava; a strong force being at the same time posted on the frontier of Chittagong. Confidence was restored; the Burmese became satisfied of the friendly disposition of the British Government, and peace was permanently restored.

FROM COLONEL SYMES TO CAPTAIN MERRICK SHAWE, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

(Private.)

"19th April, 1803.

"DEAR SHAWE,

"I request you will present the accompanying papers and letters to Lord Wellesley, and signify his Lordship's pleasure to me.

"I by no means think it of material consequence to send any thing to these people ;* they have cost us a great deal too much already ; but it may be worth while by a trifle to keep them in good humour for a short time longer.

"I am desirous of sending the Viceroy of Pegu a present of some fine otto of roses and cloth, black or red on one side and white on the other, for which he

* The royal family of Ava.

expressed a wish ; he will desire to pay for what I may send, which I would not admit of under any circumstances.—*The royal family never pay for anything.*

"I have been confined to the house since the day I last dined with Lord Wellesley,—I am better, but much reduced by medicine.

"Take care of the picture and the Burmese list. I send a drawing of a hairy-faced Burmese boy, executed by a Burmese ; the head is an exact resemblance. Show it to Lord Wellesley, but do not lose it. Yours sincerely. "M. Symes."

Scarcely had the conquest of Mysore been achieved and a subsidiary treaty adjusted with the new government, than Lord Wellesley with that decision and promptitude which characterised his administration, and so remarkably influenced the conduct of the war, determined on exploring the resources and the general condition of the allied and ceded countries with a view to the improvement of both. Dr. Francis Buchanan, M. D., F. R. S., was the person selected for this important mission. In the Governor-General's instructions, dated 24th of February, 1800, the attention of Dr. Buchanan was directed to the agriculture of the country, as the first and great essential object of his journey. The different kinds of esculent vegetables, the modes of cultivation, and machinery adopted for watering the grounds ; the different breeds of cattle, the extent and tenures of the farms, and the usual price of labour ; the cultivation and the preparation of cotton, pepper, sandal-wood, cardamums, and the means by which these may be extended, the state

of manufactures and manufacturers, the climate and seasons of Mysore; and lastly, the general condition of the inhabitants with respect to food, clothing and habitations, as well as the subdivision of castes and tribes prevalent among them. It was stated by his Lordship that the information expected to result from this investigation, might not only prove advantageous to Mysore itself, but that a comparison with the situation of other parts of the Company's territories in those particulars might eventually lead to improvements in agriculture there also, and open channels of commerce hitherto unexplored.

The result of the Rev. Dr. Buchanan's researches were published in 1807, in a work of which the following is the title, which indicates the whole scope of the publication :—"A journey from Madras, through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, performed under the orders of the Most Noble the Marquess of Wellesley, Governor-General of India, for the express purpose of investigating the state of agriculture, arts, and commerce; the religion, manners and customs; the history, natural and civil; and the antiquities in the dominions of the Rajah of Mysore, and the countries acquired by the Honourable East India Company in the late and former wars from Tippoo Sultaun."

The importance to Great Britain of promoting the growth of cotton in British India had not escaped the sagacious mind of the Marquess Wellesley. He was anxious to obtain the fullest information respecting the capabilities of the soil, the extent to which the cultivation of the cotton plant was carried in Mysore and other parts of the Indian peninsula, the mode

of culture, preparation, &c. ; in the hope that England would ultimately derive a large supply of cotton from her Asiatic dominions. Nearly half a century has elapsed since the Marquess Wellesley directed Dr. Francis Buchanan's attention to this subject, and still little has been done to extend the growth of cotton in British India. England, it has been stated, pays to the United States of America, for cotton, the enormous sum of *fifteen millions sterling every year.* Every man who wishes well to his country and to the human kind, must desire to see friendly and fraternal intercourse—

" Free as the winds and chainless as the sea"—

maintained between Great Britain and the Anglo-Saxon Republic in the New World ; but it cannot be sound policy to allow ourselves to be utterly dependant upon a foreign state for an essential article, which our own territories are unquestionably capable of producing. Beside, the neglect of the cotton plant in India indirectly compels the English nation to prop up the institution of slavery in America,—" the vilest that ever saw the sun."*

* Rev. John Wesley's words on his death-bed."

CHAPTER XXI.

Free Trade.—Observations on the General Question.—Lord Wellesley's Measures respecting the Trade of India.—Hostility excited against him.—Soundness of his View.—Adam Smith's Theories.—The Controversies ended in 1832.—Statement of the Question of the Private Trade of India, by Mr. Udny, in a Minute to Marquess Wellesley.—His Lordship's Anxiety on the Subject.—Letter to Lord Castlereagh respecting Mr. Udny and the Question of Private Trade.

FREEDOM is the life of trade; monopoly its bane. These propositions, if viewed as abstract questions by men unswayed by party prepossessions, or the bias of self-interest, guided solely by the light of reason and the principles of justice, would be regarded as economical axioms, the truth of which was *self-evident*. It was intended by the Great Author of our being, that nations should freely exchange their commodities with each other; the liberty of commerce is based upon the law of nature. England does not produce cotton, sugar, tea, oranges, &c.; but it is peculiarly adapted by its geographical position, its mineral wealth, its geological formation, and the habits of its population, to produce manufactured articles better and cheaper than the countries where those commodities grow; we supply our wants by means of exchange, traffic, commerce; nature itself suggests intercourse between kingdoms; it has prepared the great deep as a highway for

trade; for though the sea* *seems* to keep different countries *separate*, it in reality facilitates the intercourse of man and man, and enables us to transfer the most bulky articles from one hemisphere to another! Any interference with the liberty of trading either by restrictions in peace or blockades in time of hostilities, are abnegations of the common rights of mankind, and the *onus probandi* must always rest on those who place fetters upon the freedom of action to justify such an infraction of inherent rights, and such restraints on natural liberty. However prepossessed a man may be in favour of existing systems, it is probable that he would not withhold his assent from a broad proposition for the establishment of one uniform, comprehensive, and general system of unfettered trade among all the nations of the earth. He sees a restrictive system in the adjoining kingdom; he does not think it fair to give that country an advantage it will not reciprocate; he therefore retaliates by a restrictive tariff. But if it were possible to begin *de novo*, and arrange in a convention of all the maritime and commercial nations under heaven one grand system of trade, which should be constructed on the most rational principles,—if he had no fears for existing interests, that grew up under a gigantic blockade that encircled the globe, would he ask for prohibitions, monopolies, or protections?—

* "If there were only land between this and America, we should have no cotton; for the carriage of it by land would cost more than it is worth. Think how many horses would be wanted to draw such a load as comes in one ship; and they must eat and rest on their journey. But the winds are the horses which carry the ship along; and they cost us nothing but to spread a sail."—*Archbishop Whately.*

"No! let all lands exchange with all
The good which freights this foodful ball!
Then will the strife of millions cease;
For Free Exchange is Peace! is Peace!"

The controversies in which the Marquess Wellesley found himself involved by his measures respecting the trade of India, have lost much of their interest since the abolition of the East India Company's monopolies, and the general recognition, in our own day, of the principles of commercial liberty; but it cannot be uninstructive to mark the career of the cause of free trade which then commenced a struggle with monopoly, which issued in the victory of 1832, and prepared the public mind for subsequent economical changes of the same liberal character. The great work of Adam Smith* was attracting attention about the time when Lord Wellesley entered upon public life; and there can be no doubt that his Lordship's views were influenced by the lucid reasonings and demonstrations of that admirable writer. Lord Wellesley proposed a very moderate reform of the restrictive system of the East India Company; but he was at once assailed with every species of obloquy, and accused of designs against the very existence of the Company;—designs which it may here be stated, once for all, his Lordship never had harboured. The nature of the Governor-General's plans will be understood by the following minute drawn up by the Honourable G. Udny, a member of the council, at the request of his Excellency, on the 15th of September, 1800:—

* "Wealth of Nations;" 1784.

"I beg leave to offer, with diffidence, some observations upon the letter from Mr. Dundas to the chairman of the Court of Directors, which your Lordship put into my hands.

"That the trade to be carried on by the East India Company must be limited by the extent of their capital; that this capital cannot embrace the whole trade of India, that of the remainder foreigners should participate in no greater degree than to the extent of their own capitals; and that the fortunes of the Company's servants resident in India should, by means of this trade, be carried to England, in the manner most beneficial to their interests and to that of the mother country, where it is desirable that all that capital should ultimately settle, are positions established in this letter.

"In arguing on the fittest mode of conducting this trade, Mr. Dundas appears to consider it merely as a vehicle for conveying to England the fortunes of the Company's servants in India. But it may be shown that this is not strictly the case. The largest portion of the community of British India, viz. the servants of the Company in the military, judicial, and revenue lines (in Bengal at least), are prohibited from trade: of their servants who engage in it, trade is for a series of years carried on with a view first to acquire a fortune, and only ultimately does it serve, and that perhaps but in part, for the remittance of it.

"The great channels of remittance for fortunes acquired in India are of late years,

"1. By bills of exchange granted by the different governments of India on the Court of Directors, or by

loan to the Company in India, payable at the expiration of their term, in England.

"2. By bills drawn by the mercantile houses at the different presidencies upon consignments of goods made by them to England, on their own proper account, or by the bills of their constituents, whether servants of the Company, traders, or free merchants or others out of the Company's employ, upon similar consignments of goods made on their behalf.

"A great part of the capital of British subjects resident in India thus employed in the provision of goods for the purpose of consignment to England, is not that the produce of them may remain there, but that it may again be brought back to this country to be reinvested in the trade of it.

"Mercantile houses also employ not only their own capital in this trade, but the capitals of the houses of agency with whom they are connected in England, and some capital borrowed from thence.

"With respect to the mode in which the provision of goods in India for this trade should be made, Mr. Dundas lays it down as his settled opinion, 'that no agent should be employed in India or permitted to reside there, except with the licence of the East India Company, subject to the control of such regulations as the habits, prejudices, and trade of the country may render expedient, from this decisive circumstance, in addition to every other consideration, that the tolerance of unlicensed adventurers would lead to colonization of the worst kind, tending to undermine the permanence of the British power and preëminence in India.' This unquestionably is the prime object to be kept in view,

and to which all others must be made subservient. The restrictions now in force, both with respect to persons coming to and residing in India, appear in the highest degree salutary and proper. Merchants procure all the goods they want from the places of their manufacture in the interior of the country, either through the Company's servants, or by licensed traders residing there, or through the medium of native agents.

"In this regulated way all British subjects (under no prohibition) may participate in the trade; and whatever may be the speculative fancies of some men upon a more unrestrained order of things, dissatisfaction is rarely expressed with that which now prevails. No change therefore, in this respect, seems to be either desired or required.

"We never hear of difficulty in procuring goods, but complaints are frequent of the want of proper conveyance for them to England after they are provided. This is certainly a grievance of no small moment to the merchant who wishes to act an honest part, and to conform to established regulations. With money in his hands, and with a desire to speculate in the purchase of goods for the English market, he is afraid to lay his money out, because either he may be disappointed in getting tonnage for the conveyance of it at all, or he may in the customary distribution of law tonnage amongst the several claimants, obtain only part of what he wants; or supposing him to be successful as to quantity, the rate of freight required by the Company may be so high as to preclude all expectation of profit (the only incentive to speculation), by the consignment of the description of goods he may wish to send. If

he trades at all, therefore, he must do it to evident disadvantage, with this additional mortification, to see foreigners dealing in the same articles, and able, from the advantages they possess, to overbid him in the market here, and undersell him in that of Europe.

"Of the 3,000 tons allotted by law for the annual conveyance of the goods of individuals from all parts of India to England, the other presidencies have rarely applied for their proportions; and the whole tonnage has, with the exception of one year, been inadequate to the supply of Bengal alone.

"The tonnage which has been occupied with Bengal private goods since the Act of Parliament of 1793 has had effect here, is as follows:—

"In 1794-5—2,473 tons; 1795-6—5,346 do.; 1796-7—4,659 do.; 1797-8—3,787 do.; 1798-9—6,223 do.; 1799-1800—7,748 do.

"Through the liberality of your Lordship in granting a facility to the trade in 1798-9 by permitting ships to be hired by the Company, and afterwards relet to their owners, they settling with the shippers of goods for cargo and freight, the accommodation and the satisfaction to both parties were very great. Though this indulgence was discontinued last season, yet the amount of tonnage applied for by individuals was granted to the extent of the shipping which could be hired for the purpose. The tonnage occupied in 1798-9 exceeds that of the four preceding years, and 1799-1800 exhibits a further considerable increase. I have understood that the merchants adventured more largely last year in the purchase of goods for Europe, under the idea that the facilities of 1798 would have

been continued to them. By being permitted to make their own terms with the shippers of goods, the ship-owners are enabled perfectly to assort their cargoes, to fill their ships in the most advantageous manner and at the most convenient times. They are freed from the loss which they are subject to under the present system from the delay which occurs in the payment of their freight and the settlement of their accounts in England by the Company (of which they complain heavily), and thus they can afford to provide tonnage on terms more reasonable than at present. By this mode the merchant also, besides the advantage of a lower rate of freight, derives another substantial benefit in the employment of his capital. He has it in his power to make his engagement with the ship-owner before he begins the purchase of his goods; he can buy those only which it will answer for him to speculate in, at the ascertained rates of freight, and he suits the amount of his provision exactly to the carriage he has secured for it.

"Whatever be the expediency of keeping up the Company's regular shipping on their present respectable and expensive footing, it can answer only for the conveyance of the Company's own valuable goods, of the finer sorts of indigo, and of some other valuable commodities of individuals; the rates of freight chargeable thereon are too extravagant to be borne by sugar of the Company's investment, or by the gruff goods commonly provided by individuals. The extra shipping hired in England and sent out by the Company for the purpose of supplying the two last-mentioned demands, is at a rate beyond what the most extensive exports from Bengal, viz. sugar and saltpetre, will reasonably bear.

"It is in vain to expect that Great Britain should become the emporium of the trade of Asia until a very considerable reduction be effected in the price of freight between India and the mother-country, and a blow be given by this means to the trade of foreigners.

"It is by the employment of Indian-built shipping that this desirable reduction can be effected. The proposition of Mr. Dundas, therefore, that this description of shipping shall be employed exclusively for carrying the goods of individuals from India to England, is a most wise, and, connected with the consideration of the trade of foreigners, a necessary measure.

"It would open a prospect every way exhilarating; of increased prosperity to the country by the extension of its powers of produce and manufacture, and by opening new and unexplored sources of commerce; of increased benefit to the merchant by unloosing his hands and giving a scope for the fullest exertion of his capacities; and of increased wealth to the nation, by promoting a more valuable importation into it, and reducing the foreign trade with India within its natural and proper bounds.

"That the shipping of India would be adequate to the demand for it, there can be no doubt. At this moment there are above 10,000 tons of shipping tendered and at command in Bengal, after two ships have been recently provided with cargoes to the amount of 1,500 tons; timber proper for ship-building here and in the vicinity abounds; the art has arrived in Bengal at a high pitch, a great number of artificers are constantly employed, and no sooner is a ship launched than the foundation of another is laid in her room. Spacious

and convenient docks for repairing ships are also erected. Almost every article necessary for ship-building, except the timber, would come from England,—namely, iron, copper, nails, bolts, &c., or with canvas, guns, &c. for equipment, the value of which here is said to constitute full two-fifths of the cost of a ship when fitted for sea. This particular branch of the manufactures of England would consequently be more largely encouraged by the extension of ship-building in India; and that the manufactures of Great Britain in general would obtain a greater vent, when, by a reduction of freight, they could be exported to India, and sold there on cheaper terms, there is just reason to suppose.

"There appears to be only one class of men who can, with any propriety, express dissatisfaction at such an employment as that under consideration, of India-built shipping, and they are the ship-builders of Great Britain. It seems, however, very doubtful, whether even they would suffer in the end, as, from the far greater number of such ships which would resort to England than that now furnished by it for this trade, the expense for repairs which they would require to be laid out upon them there, might be expected, if not to equal, to fall little short of the original outlay of construction of the British shipping.

"It is understood that the employment of Indian-built shipping should be confined strictly between Great Britain and India. One instance has occurred lately of a ship of this description, the *Anna*, having made a voyage from England to the West Indies and back again; other similar instances, which have not come to my knowledge, may have occurred.

"Mr. Dundas does not, he says, clearly perceive the benefit to arise from the interference of Government, in taking up the ships of India, though he sees no objection to it. By means of such interference a control is established which provides for the employment of ships duly qualified by law, and for the security of the property of individuals embarked in them, the same as if the property were the Company's; by the survey of the ships, their proper condition and equipment, their loading in due degree, besides other important and necessary regulations, amongst which are those for the proper care and treatment of the seamen, whether natives of Asia or of Africa, by which such ships are navigated.

"But, it may be asked, will not the trade of the Company suffer by such an unlimited importation of Indian produce into England as this system may induce, and on terms of freight more reasonable than what they are obliged to pay, whereby the demand for their goods will be reduced and the value of them lessened. To this it may be answered, that the London sales of East India goods will be affected by the aggregate importation thereof into Europe at large, and the general state of the markets there, nearly in the same degree, whether the proportion imported into England itself be greater or less; and that the Company have, from the long establishment of their factories, from the skill of their servants, trained up and employed at them, and the confidence which the manufacturers repose in them, from long habit of dealing with the Company, handed down to them from their forefathers, obtained so decided a superiority in the provision of the most valuable

articles, piece-goods and raw silk, that individual merchants cannot pretend, by any practicable reduction of freight, to cope with them. In the article of sugar and other gruff goods, the private trade is more upon a par with the Company in the first purchase; and I do not see how the Company can maintain their ground in the market, unless they also resort to India-built shipping for the conveyance of such-like articles, sending out only regular Indiamen to carry home their valuable investments, which experience will show to be a necessary and profitable arrangement.

"It remains to speak of the trade of foreigners to this port,—a subject which calls for the most serious attention.

"The value of the cargoes imported into Bengal, in the year 1799-1800, by Americans and Portuguese, exceeds one million of pounds sterling, of which 944,834*l.* have been imported in treasure; whereas the value of imports from England by British individuals, does not amount to 600,000*l.*

"With such powerful means, these two foreign nations have been enabled to increase their exports very considerably beyond those of British subjects.

"The export trade of the Americans, in the last year, is nearly double what it was on an average of the three preceding years. The export trade of the Portuguese has quadrupled within the same period, and but for want of cargo for one of their largest ships, would have borne a higher proportion.

"Even supposing that the capital with which these nations trade was all their own, the proportion of the trade to Bengal, which they enjoy, seems unnaturally

great, compared with that of British subjects; but considering a portion of that capital, as it must be considered, as being the capital of British subjects, it becomes a cause of alarm.

"What may be the proportion of British capital employed in the Portugal trade is not so clear; but the case respecting America is less doubtful. The documents of the Custom House, collected by the reporter of External Commerce, and before cited, show that not quite one-fourth of the funds with which the Americans purchased their investments the last year, came from America;—200,000*l.* in specie was imported direct from London, the remainder from the other ports in Europe and from the Island of Madeira, partly in exchange for the sugars of Bengal carried thither, and in exchange for their own corn, sold at Madeira, and part thence, it is supposed, on credit.

"Under the present system of things the Americans bid fair to exclude us from the market for sugar in Europe; their ships are pouring into Bengal this season, and they are carrying very large cargoes of it from Batavia.

"The celerity with which they conduct their commercial operations is surprising. Instances occurred last season of several of their ships disposing of their imports, purchasing their export cargoes, and leaving the port in twenty and twenty-five days from the date of their arrival.

"It is impossible that British merchants can, under the present order of things, cope successfully with such alert rivals; every consideration of benefit to British individuals, and of advantage to the British nation, calls

for speedy measures of reform respecting the trade of India, to which the scarcity of English shipping available here this season, seems now more particularly to invite.

"In addition to the immense advantages derived from your Lordship's government to the British nation, by securing and consolidating its dominion in India, it remains, by unfettering the trade of it to British subjects and affording to them the enjoyment of their natural privileges, so far as may be consistent with the rights of the Company, and thereby reducing foreigners within their just and natural bounds, to draw forth all the resources of these valuable possessions, and to accomplish the grand object, so long desired, of rendering Great Britain the emporium of the East. I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

"G. UDNY."

The subjoined private letter to Lord Castlereagh will indicate the intensity of the opposition which Lord Wellesley's measures respecting the trade of India encountered in Leadenhall-street, and at the same time show how strongly the Governor-General felt upon this question :—

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, &C. &C.

(Private and Confidential.)

"Barackpore, December 31st, 1803.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The object of this letter is to solicit your Lordship's protection for Mr. Udny, a member of the Coun-

cil at Fort William, and a gentleman of the most unblemished honour, integrity and public spirit, of respectable talents, great diligence and industry, and considerable knowledge in the commercial department.

"These qualifications recommended Mr. Udny to my attention, and accordingly I promoted him to a seat at the Board of Trade, and afterwards mentioned his name as a proper person for the Council.

"Since Mr. Udny has been a member of the Council, he has conducted himself with the most honourable and zealous spirit of coöperation, and has afforded very useful assistance in the conduct of commercial affairs. His attachment to me and the services which he has rendered to the public under my administration have attracted the animosity of my numerous enemies in the India House, and his liberal sentiments upon the question of the Private Trade have injured him in the opinion of the Court of Directors.

"An intimation has reached me of a design formed at the India House for the supercession of Mr. Udny in the Council at Fort William, either by the nomination of Mr. Duncan, of Bombay, or by some other management which shall sacrifice Mr. Udny to the vindictive hatred of my enemies.

"It is my earnest request that your Lordship will will not suffer this worthy and faithful public servant to be made the victim of passions excited by his public services. Mr. Udny is a very respectable and useful member of this Council, and I am convinced that he will coöperate with Sir George Barlow after my departure with the same cordiality and honour which he has manifested towards me. In this confidence I most

anxiously hope that your Lordship will maintain Mr. Udny in his seat in Council; and that at the expiration of the prescribed period of five years, your Lordship will cause his appointment to be renewed.

"This solicitation is principally founded on a just sense of Mr. Udny's merits; but it is also inseparably connected with the principles of justice, and with those of honourable attachment to faithful and virtuous friendship.

"I consider my personal character and the cause of my administration to be deeply involved in the protection of Mr. Udny against the enemies of both; and I shall feel any wound inflicted upon that meritorious public officer as sensibly as if it were directly pointed at my reputation. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful servant, WELLESLEY."

APPENDIX.

(1.)

Translation of the Latin Verses written by Lord Wellesley at Walmer Castle, September, 1797 (*vide* p. 131, vol. i.) by Viscount Morpeth, now Earl of Carlisle.*

" Parent of countless crimes, in headlong rage,
War with herself see frantic Gallia wage,
'Till worn and wasted by intestine strife,
She falls—her languid pulse scarce quick with life.
But soon she feels, through every trembling vein,
New strength collected from convulsive pain:
Onward she moves, and sounds the dire alarm,
And bids insulted nations haste to arm;
Spreads wide the waste of War, and hurls the brand
Of Civil Discord o'er each troubled land;
While Desolation marks her furious course,
And thrones, subverted, bow beneath her force.
Behold! she pours her Monarch's guiltless blood,
And quaffs, with savage joy, the crimson flood;
Then, proud the deadly trophies to display
Of her foul crime, resistless bursts away,
Unaw'd by justice, unappall'd by fear,
And runs with giant strength her mad career.
" Where'er her banners float in barbarous pride,
Where'er her conquest rolls in sanguine tide,
There, the fair fabric of establish'd law,
There, social order, and religious awe,
Sink in the general wreck; indignant there
Honour and Virtue fly the tainted air;
Fly the mild duties of domestic life
That cheer the parent, that endear the wife,

* From the *Anti-Jacobin*, No. VII., December 25th, 1797.

The lingering pangs of kindred grief assuage,
Or soothe the sorrows of declining age.—
" Nor yet can Hope presage the auspicious hour,
When Peace shall check the rage of lawless Power ;
Nor yet the insatiate thirst of blood is o'er,
Nor yet has Rapine ravaged every shore.
Exhaustless Passion feeds the augmented flame,
And wild Ambition mocks the voice of Shame :
Revenge, with haggard look and scowling eyes,
Surveys with horrid joy the expected prize ;
Prowls round each remnant of monarchic sway,
And dooms to certain death his fancied prey.—
" For midst the ruins of each falling state,
One Favour'd Nation braves the general fate :
One favour'd nation, whose impartial laws
Of sober Freedom vindicate the cause ;
Her simple manners, midst surrounding crimes,
Proclaim the genuine worth of ancient times :
True to herself, unconquerably bold,
The Rights her valour gain'd she dares uphold,
Still with pure faith her promise dares fulfil,
Still bows submission to the Almighty Will.—
" Just Heav'n ! how Envy kindles at the sight !
How mad Ambition plans the desperate fight !
With what new fury Vengeance hastes to pour
Her tribes of rapine from yon crowded shore !
Just Heav'n ! how fair a victim at the shrine
Of injured Freedom shall her life resign,
If e'er, propitious to the vows of hate,
Unsteady Conquest stamp our mournful fate,—
If e'er proud France usurp our ancient reign,
And ride triumphant o'er the insulted main !
* * * * *
Far hence the unmanly thought ! The voice of Fame
Wafts o'er the applauding deep her Duncan's name.
What though the Conqueror of the Italian plains
Deem nothing gain'd, while this fair Isle remains,
Though his young breast with rash presumption glow,
He braves the vengeance of no vulgar foe :
Conqueror no more, full soon his laurel'd pride
Shall perish ; whelm'd in Ocean's angry tide
His broken bands shall rue the fatal day,
And scatter'd navies own Britannia's sway ! "

(2.)

The Army of Seringapatam under the command of General Harris.

(Vide p. 246.)

CAVALRY.

First Brigade.—Colonel Stevenson, his Majesty's 19th dragoons, and the 1st and 4th regiments of native cavalry.

Second Brigade.—Colonel Pater, his Majesty's 25th dragoons, and the 2nd and 3rd regiments of native cavalry.

INFANTRY.

First Brigade.—Major-General Baird, his Majesty's 12th and 74th regiments, and the Scotch brigade.

Second Brigade.—The Honourable Colonel Wellesley, his Majesty's 33rd and 73rd regiments, and the regiment de Meuron.

Third Brigade.—Colonel Cowdie, 1st regiment, 1st battalion, 6th regiment, and 1st battalion, 12th regiment of sepoys.

Fourth Brigade.—Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd battalion of Bengal volunteer sepoys.

Fifth Brigade.—Colonel Sherbrooke, 2nd battalion, 3rd regiment, 1st battalion, 8th regiment, and 2nd battalion, 12th regiment sepoys.

Sixth Brigade.—Lieutenant-Colonel Suff, 2nd battalion, 5th regiment; 2nd battalion, 9th regiment.

GENERAL STAFF APPOINTED TO THE ARMY.

Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Harris.
Military Secretary to ditto, Captain Macauley.
Private Secretary to ditto, Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew.

Persian Interpreter to ditto, Lieutenant-Colonel Close.
Aides-de-camp to ditto, Lieutenants Marrott, Scott, and Harris.
Adjutant-General to the Army, Lieutenant-Colonel Close.
Deputy Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew.
Acting Deputy Adjutant-General, Captain Turing.
Assistant Acting Deputy Adjutant-General Captain Pearce.
Quartermaster-General to the army, Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson.
Deputy ditto, Captain Allen.
Assistant Deputy ditto, Lieutenant B. Sydenham.
Chief Engineer, Colonel Gent.
Adjutant of Engineers, Lieutenant Frazer.
Captain of the Guides, Captain Orr.
Commissary of Stores, Lieutenant-Colonel Carlisle.
Deputy ditto, Captain J. Prescott.
Agent for Bullocks, Major Dallas.
Commissary of Grain, Major Hart.
Commissary of Provisions, Major Corner.
Superintendent of Bazers, Captain Macleod.
Judge Advocate-General, Captain Leith.
Mustermaster of the Army, Captain A. Grant.
Paymaster of the Army, W. H. Gordon, Esq.
Surgeon to ditto, A. Anderson, Esq.
Commander of Pioneers, Captain Drun.
Postmaster, Captain Bond.
Subordinate Agent for the Carriage of Camp-equipage of the Army, Lieutenant Berkley.
Acting Deputy Adjutant-General of his Majesty's troops, Captain K. Young.
Major of Brigade, ditto, Deputy Paymaster of his Majesty's Troops, Colonel C. V. Hart.

MADRAS AND BENGAL FORCES.

19th and 25th regiments of light dragoons.
1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th regiments of native cavalry.
Two companies of Bengal artillery.
1st battalion of artillery.
2nd ditto.
12th, 33rd, 73rd, and 74th regiments of foot.
Scotch brigade.
Swiss regiment.
1st battalion, 1st regiment of native infantry.
2nd „ 3rd „ „
2nd „ 5th „ „
1st „ 6th „ „
1st „ 8th „ „
2nd „ 9th „ „
1st „ 12th „ „
2nd „ 12th „ „
Three battalions of Bengal volunteers.
Colonel Roberts's detachment.
1 Company of Bengal artillery.
1 „ coast „
1st battalion 10th regiment of Bengal native infantry.
2nd „ 10th „
2nd „ 2nd „ coast native infantry.
2nd „ 4th „ „
1st „ 11th „ „
2nd „ 11th „ „

BOMBAY ARMY.

His Majesty's 75th and 77th regiments of foot.
Company's E. regiment of foot.
1st battalion, 2nd regiment of native sepoys.
2nd „ 2nd „ „
1st „ 3rd „ „

2nd battalion, 3rd regiment, with detachment of the 1st or 9th battalion.
1st „ 4th „ of native sepoys.
1st „ 5th „
Detachment of artillery and Lascars attached.
Detachment of engineers.
Pioneer corps.

(3.)

Extract of a letter from Captain Macauley to Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkpatrick, dated 11th of May, 1799.

" This day the most important discoveries have been made in Tippoo's palace. Papers containing the correspondence between the Sultaun, Malartic, Sercey, Mengalon, and others, with originals and authenticated copies of Tippoo's proposals to the Islands and to the Directory of France, are now copying and will be forwarded as soon as possible to Lord Mornington."

Extracts from Tippoo Sultaun's Secret Correspondence with Zemaun Shah and the French, translated from the Original Authenticated Papers in the French and Persian Languages, found in Seringapatam after the storming of the fortress and death of the Sultaun.

These documents were in the Persian and the French languages: were we to print the whole series they would occupy a large volume; a few extracts, however, will serve to explain the nature of their contents:—

The original of these memorandums, and others which are omitted, were in Tippoo Sultaun's hand-writing, in the Persian language.

" Names of the three islands belonging to the English: Ireland—Guernsey—Jersey.

"On the English island there was once the Rajah of a tribe called Cosseea, a hundred years ago; the English Rajah put the Rajah of the Cosseeas to death and took possession of his country.*

QUESTION TO THE OFFICER OF GOVERNMENT.

"What negotiations and engagements shall be entered into with the French nation?

ANSWER.

"1st. The French troops and French commander to be under the orders of Khoodadaud† Sircar, in military matters.—2ndly. After taking Cheenaputtun (Madras), it should be destroyed, and let the sea overwhelm it. From Pondicherry to Madras, territory yielding five lacs of rupees, to be given to the French; the remainder of the Cuddalore district to belong to the Khoodadaud Sircar. The fort of Ginjee also to be ceded to the French. The fort of Goa to belong to the Khoodadaud Sircar; Bombay to belong to the French.—3rdly. The army of the Khoodadaud Sircar to unite with that of the French in the conquest of Bengal.

"Such part of the territory of Bengal as may be conquered, to be equally divided between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French.—4thly, The question of war and peace with the English, to be decided only by the mutual advice of the parties,—that is to say, the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French."

"(*On the back of the original,*)

"O Protector!

"Belonging to the Presence."

* The reader will smile at this version of English history: the word *Cosseeas* seems to have been intended for *Ecossais*, Scotch; and the *Rajah* for one of the kings of Scotland.

† Literally, "God Given;" a title assumed by Tippoo.

The following letter, addressed to the French Directory, was in the French language:—

" Seringapatam, the 2nd of April, 1797,
" the 5th Year of the French Republic.

Tippoo Sultaun the Victorious to the citizens composing the Executive Power of the French Republic.

" CITIZENS,

" I salute you, and wish every happiness to you and your nation. Citizen Ripaud arrived in my country. After having sustained an engagement, his small vessel had nearly foundered at sea: as I have for a long time been desirous of receiving intelligence from your nation, I brought him to my usual place of residence. I questioned him with regard to the operations of the war and to your condition, and I inquired whether you thought of your ancient ally. He informed me of all your plans, and of your good intentions towards me and my country. His communications gave me cordial satisfaction, and encouraged me to make the present advances towards a revival of intercourse, by sending to you three of my confidential chiefs to testify to you my friendship, and to renew our ancient alliance. In the writing which I send to you, you will perceive my attachment, my disposition, and the sentiments of my heart for your nation, which I have always loved.—Study the welfare of my country as I study that of yours.

" Your Ally,

(Signed)

Signature, or Byze, of Tippoo Sultaun.

In the annexed letter to General Mengalon, Tippoo invites the French to invade India for the purpose of driving out the English:—

(Original in the French language.)

" Seringapatam, the 21st of April, 1797,
" the 5th Year of the French Republic.

" CITIZEN GENERAL MENGALON,

" Since I manifested my friendship in writing to you, my messengers have arrived with the following intelligence, which will not be displeasing to you.

" The Nizam, an ally of the English, and the chief of the Mogols, is very ill, and his great age leaves no prospect of his recovery. He has four children, who are disputing the right of succession; one of them who is much attached to me, is the favourite of the chiefs and of the people, and is expected to succeed.

" Whilst a civil war exists in the Mahratta, and Nizam's dominions, the English are not better situated; for the Nabob Mirza Amanis (Asoph ud Doula) chief of Bengal, having heard of the arrival of Zemaun Shah at Delhi, commenced hostilities against them, and with some advantage. At Calicut they have been attacked by the Cotiote Rajah, Conjes Ram Ram, who has killed in three sallies one thousand Europeans and three thousand sepoys. On the coast of Malabar they are attacked on every side; and the revolt is general, owing to their vexatious government, and to the taxes which they have imposed.

" On the coast of Coromandel, from Masulipatam to Madras and Arcot, their tyranny has excited revolt amongst all the princes, powerful and weak, who all assert their rights; and a nephew of the Nabob of Madras, who held a command under the English, has lately been killed by his own chiefs, who were become desperate.

" *I inform you of these events in order to prove to you that it is now the moment for you to invade India. With little trouble we shall drive them out of India. Rely on my friendship.* (Signed)

Signature or Byze of Tippoo Sultaun.

(A true translation.) G. G. KEBLE,
French Translator.

FROM TIPPOO SULTAUN TO THE FRENCH DIRECTORY.

"*The Circar Coudadad to the Executive Directory, representing the French Republic, one and indivisible, at Paris.*

"In my Palace at Seringapatam, 20th July, 1798.

"In the name of that friendship which the Sircar Coudadad, and the subjects of the Sircar, vow to the French Republic, which friendship and alliance shall endure as long as the sun and moon shine in the heavens, and which shall be so solid that the most extraordinary events shall neither break nor disunite them.

"The English, jealous of the connection and friendship which for so long a time has subsisted between my Sircar and France, some years ago united against me with the Mahrattas, the Nizam Ally Khan, and my other enemies, and declared a war, as odious as unjust, which lasted several years, and of which the result was so fatal, that it cost me three crores, and thirty lacs of rupees in money, and my finest provinces.

"The Republic is certainly not ignorant of any of these unfortunate circumstances, nor of the many efforts I made to dispute, inch by inch, the possession of that country, which at last I was obliged to relinquish to our common enemy. I should not have been driven to such cruel sacrifices had I been aided by my ancient allies the French, who were deceived by the perfidious machinations of Conway, the Governor-General of Pondicherry, who was then plotting with Campbell, the Governor of Madras, for the evacuation of the place commanded by the former. No doubt the Republic will now repair the fault of their former government by driving the English from their rich possessions in India.

"These sentiments, with which I have long been animated, I have made known to the Government of the Isle of France, through the organ of two ambassadors, from whom

I had the great satisfaction of receiving such an answer as I desired together with the republican flag, by the hands of Chapuis, chief of a brigade, and Duboc, a captain of a ship, who also brought with them the inconsiderable succour of officers and men, with which circumstances permitted General Malartic and Rear-Admiral Sercey to supply me.

"I retain with me the first of these officers, and send the second to you as my ambassador, who, in requesting your alliance offensive and defensive, will, I trust, obtain such a reinforcement of troops as, joined to mine, may enable me to attack and annihilate for ever our common enemies in Asia.

"I send you my standard, (which, united with that of the Republic, will serve as a basis for the alliance into which our respective nations are about to contract,) and with it the particular articles which I have charged Captain Duboc to communicate to you.

"I join with him my subjects, Sheik Abdoubraim and Mahomet Bismilla, who are equally authorised to represent me with your government.

"Whatever may be the future state of our two nations, whether blended or separate,—into whatever engagements they may respectively enter,—may the prosperity, the glory, and the success of both be still the common object of each; may the sentiments which they feel for each other be guaranteed by mutual assurances of fidelity, and by oaths of reciprocal obligation; and may the heavens and earth meet and unite, ere the alliance of the two nations shall suffer the smallest alteration.

(A true translation.) G. G. Keble,
French Translator.

Tippoo Sultaun communicates to the French Directory his appointment of Captain Duboc as his ambassador:—

"TO THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, ONE AND INDIVISIBLE.

"Placing entire confidence in the patriotic zeal and fidelity manifested by citizen Duboc, captain in the navy of the French Republic, one and indivisible, and Commander-in-Chief of my marine, I have appointed, and do hereby appoint him, one of my ambassadors to the Executive Directory at Paris, there to fulfil with punctuality the orders which I have given him. For that purpose, I give him all the most extensive powers necessary to the success of the mission which I have entrusted to him, promising and binding myself to the French Republic, one and indivisible, to ratify the engagements which citizen Duboc may enter into in my name with the National Convention, and the Executive Directory at Paris; as well as with the artists and workmen, whom I have directed him to engage for my service Given in my palace of Seringapatam, under my signature, and that of my Prime Minister, with the Seal of State affixed, the 20th July, 1798."

(A true translation.) G. G. KEBLE,
French Translator.

Tippoo, it appears from the following paragraph, meditated the seizure of the Portuguese settlement of Goa:—

"ARTICLE 14.—We will commence hostilities against the English and Portuguese; when, in case the Nizam and the Mahrattas should join them, we will make war against them also, for it will then be necessary to subjugate them also, and to render them tributaries to us."—*Propositions of Tippoo to the French Directory.*

Among the papers found in the palace of Seringapatam, was a particular account of the French force from the Isle of France, which arrived in India previously to the commencement of the Governor-General's preparations against Tippoo:—

" Abstract Statement of the force sent by Generals Malartic, Sercey, and Mengalon, from Mauritius, to be employed in the service of Tippoo:—

Chapuy, General of the Land Forces, . .	1
Duboc, General of the Marine . .	1
Desmoulins, Commandant of the Europeans, .	1
Officers of the Artillery, . . .	2
Marine Officers, ...	6
Ship Builders and others, . . .	4
Officers, Captains, Serjeants, and Linguist. .	26
European Soldiers, ...	36
Soldiers of the second description or half-cast,	22
Total of the persons arrived from Mauritius,	99

Exclusive of Monsieur De Bay, the watch-maker, making together one hundred persons.

" Return of the naval officers of the French Republic sent by Generals Malartic and Sercey, for the service of the Sovereign Prince Tippoo:—

SAVOIR.

M. Duboc, Capitaine des Vaisseaux de Guerre de la Republique Française une et indivisible, commandant les Forces Navales.

MM. St. Génés, Barth, La Rabinais. — Lieuts. des Vaisseaux de la Republique.

M. Filletas.—Faisant fonctions de Major de la Marine.

MM. Petit, Dudemain.—Enseignes des Vaisseaux de la Republique.

M. Lelee,—Maitre Directeur des travaux du Port.

M. Merlet,—Constructeur des Vaisseaux Charpentier.

M. Bessiere,—Aspirant de la marine, Jeune Officier.

Francois Robert, Charpentier.

Onze Personnes, attachés a la Marine.

" A Mangalore, le 28 Avril, 1798.

(Signé) " FILLIETAZ,

" Major de la Marine."

In a letter addressed to Tippoo from Rear-Admiral Sercey commanding the naval forces of France in the Indian Seas, dated 4th March, 1798, the following passages occur:—

"I am extremely concerned that the naval force under my command, is not at present sufficiently considerable to admit of my proceeding to India, to make such a diversion as might forward your interests; but if I should be reinforced as I expect, I shall be very eager to seek our common enemies, and to assist you in their reduction. Previous to the arrival of your ambassadors, I had addressed the government of my country in Europe, on the necessity of expediting this measure, and the day subsequent to their arrival, I dispatched two frigates to France with the new proposals which you offer. It is to be regretted that you did not sooner apprise us of your favourable disposition."

In a letter from M. Descomber to Tippoo, dated 5th March, 1798, the Sultaun is urged to form alliances with the several Native Powers:—

"There is still time, however, to crush this ambitious nation; but it is necessary that the Court of Poonah, the Soobah of the Deccan, the Tartars, the Rajah of Travancore, all the Rajahs, Nabobs, and Soobahs, that all the Chiefs of Asia, in short, should unite to attack, to overthrow, and finally to expel those haughty English: but it is absolutely necessary that the alliance should be founded on good faith, and that it should be skilfully formed; in order that the princes, whose forces are inconsiderable, may not find themselves overpowered, in consequence of a want of concert between the parties: but when the plan shall have been properly arranged, and when the English shall find themselves assailed from every quarter of Asia, their destruction will be inevitable."

Tippoo was not slow to respond to these invitations:—

"Happy moment! the time is come when I can deposit

in the bosom of my friends, the hatred which I bear against these oppressors of the human race. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India; you have the power and the means of effecting it, by your free negroes; with these new citizens (much dreaded by the English) joined to your troops of the line, we will purge India of these villains. The springs which I have touched have put all India in motion, my friends are ready to fall upon the English; for everything here relies on my discretion. Your enemies, as I have apprised you, shall be mine."—*Tippoo to the Representatives of the People residing in the Isles of France, &c.*

A letter from M. Ripeaud to "Citizen Sultaun Tippoo" establishes the fact, that General Raymond the commander of the French auxiliary force in the service of the Nizam, had opened a correspondence with the king of Mysore:—

"I repeat to you, that your interests are as dear to me as those of my own nation; and you may rely on the frankness of my heart; but Raymond appears to make advances to you: do you appear to accept and return this confidence, and allow me to act a part with him. Be assured that he will submit himself to your pleasure: subtle as he is, I will outwit him, and you shall be satisfied."

Among the papers found at Seringapatam were the drafts of several letters in the Persian language, addressed by Tippoo to Zemaun Shah. The following short extract will serve as a specimen:—

"These circumstances, which are as well known from east to west, as the sun in the centre of the heavens, suggested to my mind that, agreeably to the command of God and his apostle, declared in these words, "Slay the divisors of the Godhead," *we should unite in carrying on a holy war against the infidels, and free the region of Hindostan from the contamination of the enemies of our religion.*—The followers

of the faith in these territories always assembling at a select time on Fridays, offer up their prayers in the words —Oh God, slay the infidels who have closed thy way! Let their sins return upon their own heads, with the punishment that is due to them!'—I trust that Almighty God, for the sake of his beloved, will accept their prayers, and through the merit of a holy cause, prosper our mutual exertions to that end.—And through the influence of the words, 'Thine armies shall conquer,' will render us victorious and successful."

The following is an extract of a letter from Zemaun Shah to Tippoo Sultaun:—

"As the object of your well-directed mind is the destruction of the infidels and the extension of the faith of the prophet, please God, we shall soon march with our conquering army to wage war with the infidels and polytheists, and to free those regions from the contamination of these shameless tribes with the edge of the sword; so that the inhabitants of those regions be restored to comfort and repose: be therefore perfectly satisfied in this respect. With regard to your request for deputing two persons to reside at our court, with a view to strengthen the ties of friendship, we have to express our acquiescence.

"We have sent a few articles hereunder mentioned, as a memorial of our regard, by your ambassadors, who have explained to us the message with which you had commissioned them."

We have quoted enough to demonstrate the magnitude of the dangers which threatened the British power at the crisis when Lord Wellesley arrived in India, and at the same time to afford an irrefutable confirmation (if further confirmation be necessary) of the correctness of the views of the Governor-General and the wisdom of his proceedings, with reference to the intriguing and enterprising Sultaun of Seringapatam.

(4.)

Correspondence between Major-General Baird and General Harris respecting Colonel the Honourable Arthur Wellesley's Appointment in Seringapatam.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, &c. &c.

"Camp, Seringapatam, 6th of May, 1799."

"SIR,

"Having, in a letter which I had this morning the honour to address you, given a detailed account of the assault of the fort of Seringapatam, the conduct of which you did me the honour to intrust to me, permit me now, Sir, to address you on the subject of the events which have taken place since that time.

"Having been honoured with the conduct of the assault, and having executed that duty to your satisfaction, I naturally concluded that I should have been permitted to retain the command of Seringapatam, or, at least, that I should not be superseded in it by a junior officer. Judge, then, my surprise, when expecting to have the honour of delivering to you the keys of Seringapatam, in the palace of the late Tippoo Sultaun, and of congratulating you on the most brilliant victory that ever graced the British arms in India, to have an order put into my hands by Colonel Wellesley, by which I found myself instantly superseded in the command by that officer. I am really ignorant what part of my conduct could merit such treatment.

"When, on a former occasion, Colonel Wellesley was appointed to the command of the detachment serving with his Highness the Nizam, while I remained in charge of a brigade, you informed me that matters of a political nature made it necessary to have that officer with the Nizam's

army. Although I severely felt the appointment of a junior officer to so distinguished a command, while I remained in an inferior station, I submitted to the necessity which you informed me dictated the measure; but this second supercession I feel most sensibly, as it must have the effect of leading his Majesty and the Commander-in Chief in England to believe that I am not fit for any command of importance, when it has been thought proper to give the command of Seringapatam to Colonel Wellesley, while he, at the same time, continues to hold the command of the Nizam's detachment.

"In camp it is rumoured to have been at my own request that another officer was appointed to the command of Seringapatam; you, Sir, must know that this is not the case. The request, if made, must have been made by me to you; and, so far from its ever being my intention to make such a request, if (after the assurances I have repeatedly received from you, that you would take the first opportunity of placing me in a situation more adequate to the rank I hold than that of the command of a brigade,) I had deemed it necessary to make any request to you, it would have been to be placed *in the command* of Seringapatam; and when I reflected that my two seniors, belonging to the coast army, continued to stand appointed to the northern and southern divisions of the Carnatic, and that the Hon. Col. Wellesley, the next junior to me, stood appointed to the command of an *army*, while I remained in charge of a *brigade*, I should have felt that I was hinting a doubt, which I never entertained, of the sincerity of those assurances, if I had made a particular application for the command of Seringapatam—indeed I could not think it neccssary.

"Some mistake may have arisen from my having, through Major Beatson, expressed a desire that the whole storming party might be relieved from camp; so that order might be established, and troops more equal to take the fatigue of

guard-mounting during the night, be placed in the fort; and I wished to be relieved for a short time, that I might myself have had the honour of reporting our success, and informing you in person of every particular relative to the storm. This not having been found convenient, I desired Captain Young, Deputy Ajutant-General of His Majesty's troops, who was proceeding to camp at daylight next morning, to inform you that, as I was much recovered from the fatigues of the preceding day, I wished not to be relieved till I had examined the state of the works and ascertained the number of cannon captured. I received a letter from Captain Young, long before Colonel Wellesley superseded me, informing me that he had made my request known to you.

"I cannot but feel obliged by your having enabled me to act so distinguished a part in the storm, though I find so little attention has, in every other instance, been paid to my requests, that I am almost led to believe my being employed on that occasion, was owing to my being the only officer of rank who had made a voluntary offer of his services.

"I request that copies of this letter may be transmitted to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander-in Chief, for the information of his Majesty; that, at the same time he is informed of my having been twice superseded by Colonel Wellesley, he may be in possession of such reasons as you shall think proper to give for it, that he may be satisfied the measure was dictated by necessity, and not by any want of capacity on my part to fill the situation.

"I have the honour, &c. D. Baird."

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD, &c. &c. &c.

" 8th of May.—Camp, Seringapatam.

" SIR,

" The Commander-in-Chief directs me to inform you that he has this day received, from Major of Brigade Falconer, your report of the assault intrusted to your conduct on the 4th instant; and that, ever ready to do justice to the merits of officers under his command, he is happy in the occasion you have given him *for taking particular notice of the conduct of Colonel Sherbrooke!*

" I am also directed to acknowledge the receipt of the *very improper letter* which accompanied your report.

" The distinguished command for which you were selected by the Commander-in-Chief, and the sentiments he has so publicly and recently expressed on that occasion, sufficiently mark what was his sense of your military merit; and it is with regret that he now finds himself compelled to blame *a total want of discretion and respect* in an officer of your high rank and length of service, in terms so opposite to those in which he was lately so happy to applaud your gallantry, humanity, and zeal.

" Lieutenant-General Harris is persuaded that an officer *who thinks himself authorised to remonstrate with his immediate superior, can never be usefully employed in the army he commands.* Should you, therefore, continue to hold sentiments so opposite to the principles of military subordination, you have his permission *to proceed by the first safe conveyance to Fort St. George.*

" The Commander-in-Chief will certainly forward to his Royal Highness the Duke of York copies of your letter and his reply. I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant, (Signed) P. A. AGNEW."

Mil. Scc. to the Commander-in-Chief.

GENERAL BAIRD TO GENERAL HARRIS.

"SIR,

"I yesterday received a letter from Lieut.-Col. Agnew, your public secretary, which has created in me the greatest astonishment.

"Conceiving myself injured, and my military character in some degree impeached, in the repeated preference that had been shewn to my junior, the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, in nominating him to distinguished commands, while I, serving with the same army, was still left in my original situation of commandant of a brigade; and feeling as I conceived every military man in a similar situation would have felt, on being superseded by the same officer in the command of the important fortress of Seringapatam, I thought it due to my own character to address you on that subject, and I can safely affirm that, in that address, it was my firm intention to make to you the *most respectful* statement of facts.

"On the receipt of your secretary's letter, I again and again perused the one I had had the honour to address to you; and, after every attempt, must acknowledge myself unable to discover one paragraph, or even one word, which can be construed into the smallest disrespect. God knows, such an idea was the farthest from my thoughts! I therefore feel with double sensibility the unmerited asperity of your secretary's letter, which I can hardly bring myself to believe to contain your real sentiments. If, however, I am wrong in this conjecture, I trust you will enable me to clear myself before a general court-martial, from which I can have nothing to fear, being satisfied in my own mind that there is not an officer in this, or in any army, who more abhors the crime of which I stand accused.

"It was my intention, from the moment I was superseded in the command of Seringapatam, to apply for permission

to quit the army, as soon as I deemed my services to my king and country no longer required my remaining with it. My wish is still to do so, and I shall, when there is no longer an appearance of the army's being actively employed, make an application to you to that effect. If, however, you should still persevere in your determination of ordering me from the army, in consequence of the respectful representation I have thought myself authorised to make to you, I shall, in that case, only have to regret the necessity there will be for making my removal from the army, and the circumstances which occasioned it, equally public.

(Signed) D. BAIRD."

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD, &c. &c. &c.

"Seringapatam, 10th of May, 1799.

"SIR,

"The Commander-in-Chief has received your letter of the 9th instant, and directed me to inform you in reply, that the explanation therein given *has produced no change in the sentiments expressed by his order on the 7th instant, in my letter to you.*

"It was not the words, but the tenor of your letter of the 6th instant, that the Commander-in-Chief thought it his duty to remark. He never can admit the right of any subordinate officer to remonstrate with him on the propriety of measures he has adopted for the public service, or on his selection of officers for situations of public trust. In assuming this privilege, he still thinks that you have been wanting in discretion and respect; *and your letter of yesterday has in a great measure removed the concern he felt at the necessity which obliged him to inform you that such were his opinions.*

" Lieutenant-General Harris desires that this letter may conclude a correspondence which you are at liberty to make as public as you think proper. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) " P. A. AGNEW."

Mil. Sec. to the Commander-in-Chief.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
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